DE VERA OBEDIENTIA.

An Oration made in Latine by the ryghte Reuerend father in God Stephan B. of VVincheſtre, nowe lord Chaũcellour of england, with the preface of Edmunde Boner, ſometime Archedeacõ of Leiceſtre, and the kinges maieſties embaſſadour in Denmarke, & ſithence B. of Lõdon, touching true Obedience.

Printed at Hamburgh in Latine, In officina Franciſci Rhodi. Menſe Ia. M. D. xxxvi.

And nowe tranſlated into engliſſh and printed bi Michael wood: with the Preface & concluſion of the traunſlatour.

¶ From Roane .xxvi. of Octobre. M. D. liii.

In Readinge marke the Notes in the margine.

A double mynded man, is incon ſtt in al his waies. Iac. i.

The tract here translated was printed by Gardiner at London in 1535, and reprinted at Hamburg in 1536, in defence of the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and in opposition to the Pope's supremacy. Of this translation, probably by John Bale, there are three impressions, all dated 1553. See Hazlitt's Collections and Notes, 2nd Series, p. 242.

It almost seems as if in 1553 the original Latin edition of 1535 had not been known, since the title-page of 1553 only cites the Hamburg re-issue of the next year.

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A double mynded man, is inconſtant in al his waies. Iac. i.

¶ The Translatour to the gentle Reader.

I Haue heretofore (wyth no ſmale admiration) read a certayne Sermon made in Engliſh, before our late ſouereine Lord King Henry the. viii. about xiiii. yeres paſt, bi D. Tõſtal, B. of Dureſme, & ſet furth in prynt (by like) for his own glori, or rather purgation, being ſuſpected to be a fauourer of the pretenſed autoriti, Antichriſtian power and deteſtable enormities of the b. of Rome, whet of he ſemeth at this day to be bent with other his complices (that ſermon notwithſtanding) not onely to be no hinderour, but alſo a frendlie fauourer, a truſti proctour, & an opẽ defendour, much to be lamented, in reſpect of his excellent gyftes, and vertues otherwiſe.

Ther is alſo a certeine Oration in Latin, made bi D. Samſõ. late B. of Chicheſter, and now the double faced epicureous biteſhepe of Co. & Lich. which Sermon and Oration, proue & make learned aſſercion, aſwel of the kinges ſupremacy, by the vndoubted truth of gods vnfailing word,

word, as the neceſſarie & iuſt abro-
gation of the ſaid B. of Romes fai-
ned power out of England. And al
be it men iuſtlye maruayle at theſe
mens inconſtauncie, ſeing how they
ſaid and wrote than, and how ſlip-
perly thei ſpeak & do now, yet thei
are not much cõpted vpon, becauſe
that like as Dureſme was long agoo
reputed a ſtil dreaming Saturne, al-
waies imagining miſchief, ſo is Sã-
ſon knowẽ to be an idle belied car-
nal Epicure, that for worldli honor
and paltring pelfes ſake, hath euer
holdẽ with the Hare, and run with
the Hounde: & as he hath theuiſh-
lye ſpoiled and made awaie pore
mens liuinges, the patrimonie of his
biſhoprike, ſo would he (if he were
bidden) ſaie, Chriſt was a hangman
and his father a thiefe. Therfore it
forceth not what ſuch double min-
ded matchauntes wryte or ſpeake,
ſeing (as ſaint Iames ſaith) thei are
inconſtaũt in al their waies, & of no
ſatled perſuaſion of cõſcience, but
forcaſt altogether, how to ſerue the
time, as the cõmon ſtudy & practice
of al that Foxie generation is.

And in like ſort, I chauuced lately to read an excellent, and a right notable learned Oration, entitled De vera Obediẽtia, made in latine nere xx. yeres paſt, by D. Stephan B. of VVincheſter, and now Lord Chaũcellour and common cutthrote of England, touching aſwel the Kings ſupremacie & abſolute power (vnder god) of the church of England, & the neceſſarie diuorce (as he calleth it) of the ſayd King Henrie the eight from the quenes graces Mother that now is, and the laufull and chaſte maryage (for ſo he termeth the matter) ſolemniſed betwen the ſaid King and quene Anne, to cõſiſt by the vnfailing almighty word of God: as alſo concernyng the falſe fained authoritie and vſurped power of the biſhop of Rome, & vnlauful or vnaduiſed othes & vowes: ioyned with the pleaſaunt preface of doughtye Doctour Boner, than Archedeacon of Leiceſtre, and the Kinges Embaſſadour in Denmarke, gaping to be made a Byſhop, as he was afterward of London.

And foraſmuch as VVyncheſtre confeſſeth in his Oration, his long

delyberate aduisement, before he was persuaded (bi the truth) of the kinges supremacye: & seing he was the cheif procurer and trauelour (at that time) about the kings sayd diuorce & seconde mariage: and now euen he with his blowboll bocherly brother Boner (turnyng lyke wethercockes, ersy versy, as the wynd bloweth) do not only go about indaslye to repeale the iust and right supreme power and authoritl incident bi gods owne word and lawe, to the imperial crowne of England abusyng the quenes graces lenitie, and most gentle nature, but also (like sedicious and most antichristian angels of Sathan) to set vp their father Antichtist of Romes Religion in this Realme agayne: Here thou mayest reade the same Oration and Preface, truely turned into our vulgare tõgue, that like as thei (at those daies for the kinges pleasure) set out the same, to the notice of the worlde in Latine, so now euery true Englisch subiect may plainly behold by these inconstaunt mens fruites, what they them selues are to be de-

demed: dissemblers with princes, to whom thei owe their bounden allegiaunce, deceauers of Gods people the quenes graces subiects, for whō Christe our Sauiour hath paied the price of his hart bloude; subuerters of good lawes, peruerters of orders, murtherers of mens soules, enemies of their natiue Countrey, shameles liers, bringers in of idolatrie and superstitious false forged Religion, impudent maintainers of filthy and stinking whoredome, blasphemous haters of chaste Mariage, couetous catchers, double faced periurers, defacers of the nobilitie, confounders of the cōminaltie, spoylers of pore mens patrimonye, suppessours of Christes catholike church, builders of Satans synagoge, merciles persecuters of Christes flocke, rauenyng wolues in shepes clothing, mockers of gods glorious gospel, seruers of time, and verie impes of Antichrist.

Marke now in reading this Oratiō, how winchester rūneth as it were a rash bethlē brained hoūd, mindyng more his dinner than his game, and rushig he careth not which wai, so he

he be yelpyng, and beholde how frethly (beſides the before mencioned chiefe ſpecialties) he aduoucheed, that the king might not put awaye the ſupremacie from him, becauſe it is geuen him of god, and ſe how hotely he foloweth the counter ſute now. Thā he affirmed, that al true ſubiectes wer detbounden to defende, maintaine & vpholde the ſupremacie of the crowne: Now it ſemeth he wold thanke the maineteiners of the contrarie part.

Than he ſaide: mennes tradicions were (for the moſt part) repugnaunt to gods word: Now popiſh pelting tradicons ar floriſhed & gilte with the name of the churche, and folkes muſt beleue them as muche or more than the Byble.

Than he prated, that in the onlie ſcriptures was the truthe to be ſought: now away with the ſcriptures, as though they taught nothing but hereſie. Than he confeſſed that the true light was hidden, as long as the Biſhop of Rome had to do here: now his felowes can ſaye. & taught that errand traitour Dudley Duke

of

of Northumberland, vpon the ſcaffold, (hoping on pardon of lyfe) to declar vpon his vnlearned learning & cõbred conſcience, that the truth hath bene baniſhed, and England deuided from the catholicke fayth & church, theſe .xvi. yeares. And ſo whan he had deſperately deuided that deueliſh diuiſiõ, thei diuided his head from his ſhoulders, & except the ſpecial great mercy of god his ſoule frõ the kingdõ of heauen.

And. xvi. yeares paſſion of their traditions were taken away. but the name and power of the pope, & yet they ſay england was diuided then or re. marke their meaning.

Than he publiſhed the kinges diuorce & ſecond mariage, to be done by the vndouted word of God, the cenſures of the moſt famous vniuerſities of the worlde, the iudgement of the Church of England, & by act of Parliament, wherof he himſelfe was the procurer in the vniuerſities and in all pointes a principal doer: Nowe he laieth all the faulte to the Archbiſhop of Cantorbury, as though it had bene tharchbiſhops only dede. Than he brake the quenes head, in procuring & affirmyng her to be illegittimate: nowe he geueth her a plaſter with recãting and ſaiing, ſhe is legittimate.

From

From that time to this, he could neuer find time to reuoke this Oration: and yet beinge a ſlaunderous traitour to the quene & her mother now almoſt .xx. yeares, he loketh to be taken for a true man, repentyng ſcatſelie .xx. daies, and perchaunce this turning Cat in the pan, is but as he did in the kings daies at the makinge of this Oration, more for feare & flattery, than for the iuſtification of the truth, or for conſcience.

Theſe trickes & many ſuchelyke, are eaſy to be eſpied in this Oration & preface, for a man to wonder and bleſſe him to ſee, how theſe incarnate deuils could ſo aduiſedlye, ſo grauelie and ſo confidently ſay yea than, & ſo impudentli, ſo raſheli, ſo periuredlie, and ſo ſlaightly recant and ſay nay now. wherfore if theſe be the fatherly frutes of their holynes, truthe and conſtaũcie (as it can not be denied) & the ſpecial practiſes of theſe worthye pyllers of the malignaunt Madame the Babiloniſh baudi mother holi church: what mai we truſt to or loke for in their lecherous littour of romiſh whelpes?

If

If gaye Gardiner, blowbol Boner, truſti Tonſtal & ſlowbelye Samſon be no more nimble in their legerdemayne: blame not dronken D. weſtō (with his burned breche) nor impudent Feecknam with the reſt of the ſawcye ſwarme of ſhauelynges, though their ſhameles ſhiftes, ſlaūderous inconſtaūcie, careles periurie, & other blaſphemous iniquities, turne vp their tayles to al the world.

Of late they could not abide to be called papiſtes, and woulde haue ſwotē al the othes of god, they wer non, but obedient folowers of the kinges procedynges: And now the worlde wtieth on their ſide, it is all their bragge to ſhew thē ſelues papiſtes in dede, & to declare by their blaſphemous preaching & doyng, what traiterous heartes they haue couertlie borne al this while to king H. the eight (alas how wikedly they bewitched and abuſed that gentle hatted prince) & king Edwarde the ſyxte heretofore: ſo as the quenes grace and al Engliſh chriſtians may beware, how thei credite thē, or ſattle their cōſcience on thē hereafter.

If

If these ruffling rabbies in their Sermons & aduised Orations, said and wrote the truth than: why do they not abyde by it, & sai the same stil? If their wordes and writynges were etronious and false than, for al their graue aduised delyberation: why mai not their sayings & practises be as false now, vsing post hast, and al through ambicion?

Ha Sir, ye make much a do, and ar verie ranke on the treble hand, with than & now. Be content. Than was than, and now is now, downe wyth your baslarde and milke the cowe. In dede it is not out of memorye, sence dronken burned taile weston, was at the cost in hys Sermons and lessons vpon hope of preferment to the diuinitie lecture in Oxforde, to prate, publish and affirme, Sola fides iustificat: so that there arose much a do, betwene him & D. Cotes with gogleeied Smith about it, yet how faine Smith was afterward, to recant his errour, & to affirme Sola fides iustificat, hys solemne prynted recantaciō is yet to se. Howbeit now that bawdie beast weston is

content to let fal his accion.

The doctrine of Sola fides iuſtificat, hath bene publikelie affirmed alſo bi D. Oglethorpe, Draicot, pole, Ramriſhe, Burne, & almoſt by al the rable of thē, that can now geue both ſola & fides leaue to go playe them. It is not long ſence D. Chadſey ſubſcrybed to the maryage of preſtes, & againſt tranſubſtantiatiō, with a great ſort mo, that crie now, come again to your mother church, you votaryes, you ſacramentaries, as though it had neuer ben they.

As for doctor inkepot, that blenking cockeſcomb Standiſh, that ſaieth, he maryed agaynſt hys conſcience, it is theleſſe ſclaunder, ſeyng he hath alwayes bene more fitte to make a riding foole of, than a chaplaine for a King.

VVhat ſhoulde I ſpeake of theſe two faced children of Ianus? God ſpede the plough, wil thei ſai: Tēpora mutantur, mores deteriorātur, et qui veritatem dicit, fractū caput habebit. Theſe children wyll ſlepe in a hole ſkin, though the ſoule and bodie go al to the deuil for it.

Theſe

These minions will not lose the kirke of VViggen, not a peny of the Prebend of VVorcestre, for a thousand pounde rent in heauen. And whi? becaus their god is not in heauen. They are earthely men, & therfore they haue an earthlye God to serue at hand, euen their own God in trinitie, their pricke, their paũch, and the Popes Masse.

These ar the lusti lads that al these vi. yeres haue lurked & louted to the pore Gospel preachers, smyling & flering, like Gnatoes, with ait, aio: negat, nego: & now hauing espyed their wyked father prestes to haue the vpper hand, thei can kil the man whan he is knocked downe to their hãdes. was it for nothing, that kyng H. theight wolde put Winchester in no trust with his last wil, not to be oũ coũsail with his most christen sõne king Edwar de? And alas, could the quenes hyghnes ,puide her neuer a godli noble, nor worthi mã in al englland, to be her chauncellor, but him that in opẽ disputaciõ & Writing traueled most slaũderousli to make hir a bastard, hir yertuous mother an in

cestious ad-

adulteres, and her moſt roiall puiſ-
ſaunt father, an inceſteous adulte-
rer: and now in his publike doinges
maketh her ſaide moſte famous fa-
ther almoſt a ſciſmatike, & her moſt
chriſten ſwete brother, & his courte
of parlyamēt both nobles and com-
mons no better then heritikes? Is
thet neuer a good mā, that dare be-
ſeche her grace to beware of theſe
double faced periurours counſailes
in time, leaſt the ſmarte of Goddes
plague vpon England, cauſe her at
length to confeſſe, that ſhe hath o-
uer much truſted and cheariſhed a
ſcabbed Cuckow bird? Chriſt wept
vpon Hieruſalems temple and citie,
declaring their deſtruction, for their
phariſaicall ſuperſticious religyon
and murtheryng of Gods prophets
& people: and ſhal Englande (trow
you) laugh at length, committing i-
dolatrous religion and more cruell
perſecution, than the kirkemen of
Hieruſalem did? Gregorie ſaieth:
Ruina populi maxime ex culpa ſa-
cerdotum fuit. The decay or ouer-
throwe of the Iewiſh countrey and
commons, was principallie long of
the

the wickednes of preſts & phariſes: & thinke you that our popiſh Phariſaical preſtes excede not them in wickednes? yes, theirs wer but bēch whiſtlers, in compariſon of ours.

Is ther none other meane to haue a chaſte Clergy in England, but by forceing the Clergie frō chaſte mariage, & to prefer licencious wiueles horemongers in their roumes.

VVas the mater well refourmed, whan D. Coxe was turned out, and whiſking weſton, & ſuch other lecherous Locuſtes thruſt in?

A great ſorte of the quenes true harted ſubiectes in England, thinke it more mete for wanton wagtaile weſtō to be turned out for a ſtalaūt, and to kepe companie & race amōg the courteſens of colman hedge, than to vſe ani kinde of cōmunication among worthi ladies or honeſt gentlewomen: and more mete to be coupled with his old play fellow & packhorſe goodwife Hugſal in Oxford at the taile of a carte, thā to be reuerenced and reputed a mayden preſt in good quene Maries court.

Ther he loſt his gowne.

And is thet none other way to a-

uoide gods vengeaunce, and to get his fauour in England, but by snatchinga away gods worde (the bread of life) frō gods people of Englād? were it not better to haue gods most holi word read to the congregation in open playne englishe, to al mens amendement, comfort and vnderstanding of their true seruice to god, obedience to the higher powers, & christian duetie to their neighbour: & to haue rather Christes most blessed sacramentes comfortabli ministred, as he him selfe instituted thē, and as his Apostles exhibited & vsed them, than to haue a Syr Iohn populus popish priest, to pattre he neither wotteth him self what, nor the people that heareth him: and to worshyp an vnknowen God made (as they terme it) by miracle? Tushe these holi helhounds haue a special grace in workyng of miracles. It is an easiar miracle for them to say, that the forme of bread is naturall flesh, and wine bloude, than to set fire in dede, vnder a pore womans cote, without cole or candle, as the maiden prest double drōken D. weston

ſion did wyth out Byſſhoppes gate in London. And yet I ſpeake not al the wotſt that I know by him. God be mercyfull vnto vs. It is our owne impenitencie, and vnthankeful hartes, that hathe pulled downe thys horrible plague out of heauen vpon our heades, to haue ſuche a ſorte of pompous Papyſtes, and lecherous Lubbers of the deuils larderhouſe, to fede Chriſten Engliſhe ſoules in open pulpittes wyth Antichriſtian doctrine, and pernicious poiſon of lowdelyes, and blaſphemous baggage, and to bear the ſwinge in cõmon affaires of the tealme: the prophetes of God in the meane ſpace, being locked vp, put to ſcilence, pined, or driuen away, and the Nobilitie and other ſuperiour lay eſtates (by whoſe authoritye and actyue worthyneſſe, the ſafetie, honour & order of Englond, hath ben alwaies mayntayned and amplifyed) vtterlie defaced, & almoſt brought into contempt. Let euerie one therfore earneſtlye and ſpedylye repent in their eſtate & condicion. Let noble men repent, & remember (by their

own smatting experience) that ther is a God which can put downe the mightie from their seat. Luke. ii. And like as he set Nabugodonosor the great king of Babilon, in suche vile state, for his incõsiderate pride that he made hym a companion of the brute beastes of the felde, for a time: euẽ so hath the same almightie eternal god, in his wrath abassed the estimacion and autoritie of the nobles & gentlemen of England, for makinge Christes glorious spirituall gospell, a cloke for their couetousnes, pride & careles carnall life: & for their frũping, neclecting and reiecting the curteous monicions of goddes prophets of Englãd, whose wordes we finde true nowe, & alas, to true: And to tame their straunge lokes, he not only cast them of late dayes into a wonderfull chyldishe feare of the tiranous traitour Duke Iudlei (who not withstanding was in times past a gentlemã of singulat seruice in the kinges affaires) but also (for asmuch as thei seke to pleasse men more than God. and hasard their soules by cõmitting idolatrie for

for the worldes pleasure) he now throweth them into as great fonde folie, & childish drede of this lusty Leuiathan, a lord & no gentleman: as appeareth by his hutting vp the nose so highe, like a malthorse, and venting, more like Cutte the shepe worier, than Foster the fine Foxe hunter. For (after the old prouerbe) Passus sub pontio down low by the ground, if the Sire were a Cur, how should the whelpe be a hound? Let the cōmons also repēt their vntrusti dealyng, their vniuste bargayning, their worldli catking & caring, their wilful ignoraūce and obstinaci: and leauing their headstrong behauour & cursed talk, let thē learn to know, that God hath appointed them in payne of eternall damnation, to be subiectes and not superiours, to be ruled, and not to be rulers, to be priuate persons, and not reformers of cōmon causes, to be the fote, & not the hande nor the heade: Let them therfore honor, cheariſhe and obey the superior powers and degrees, in all laufull things, as necessary members & nouriſhers of the whole bo-

die of the Realme: without who m
itis not possible for the wealthe of
the commons of Englande (prate
on their ale benche what they lust)
to cõtinue long in quiet: as experi-
ẽce of raging rebelliõs, raised bi our
Romishe masse pedlers (whan vn-
der pretence of a common weale,
their rising rose rightlie to a cõmon
wo) hath taught vs to our daunge-
rous damage. And if the honour of
the english nobiliti wer not (in case
the quenes grace & the realm shuld
nede defẽce against the forain ene-
mi, as god defend) what vntoward
nes, what flincheing, what pinchig,
what vnreadynes, what vnskilful-
nes, what rudenes, what contempt,
what mysorder, what rage, what
dread, what desperaci. & what do-
lorous lacke of marcial actiuitie, &
defensible seruice wold be found in
clubbes & boisterous clouted shoes,
non can tel but God. VVhat strẽgth
can be in the bodi, when eueri ioint
is torne from other? what order can
be in the bodie of the realme, whan
the fote wil be the arme, the hande
wil be the eie, the tayle will be the
head,

head, & ech lad wil be ech lordanes felow? There can be none accorde, wher eueri one wil be a lord. Christ our saueour saith: Eueri realme dyuided within it selfe, shalbe desolate. To be short, let al sortes of english people generalli repent al their necligence, vanitie, wauering incõstanci & wickednes: & cõsider, that lyke as they woulde nedes be after their own lusts, som godles, som libertines, & some the popes swyne, god wold no longer bestow his ioyful iewel in earthe blessed king Edward the vi. nor the precious pearle of his sacred word vpon vs, but geueth vs leaue, according to our demerites, to be fed with the swil and draffe, of masing masses, mumming matines, drõken diriges, pickepurce purgatori, latin seruice, beades, bels & bagpipes, praing to Saintes, lycking of reliques, lent shrift, benedicite god father, absoluciõ behynde the curtaine, oile & creame with other supersticious trũperi, the deuil & al, for a time: vntil with vnfayned sorowful harts & teares of true repẽtãce after we haue felt the hũger of

Care not for the braue Spayniardes wyll bryngc as a mery world.

gods word, we ſai with the vnthrif
tie ſõne of the goſpel: father I haue
ſinned againſt heauen & before the,
now I am not worthie to be called
thy ſonne, make me like one of thy
hired ſeruaunntes. Vnto which ear-
neſt repentaunce grounded vpon a
faſt faith, if we wil ioyne continuall
hartye praiers to the father of mer-
cies bi Chriſt his ſonne, he wil in his
anger remember mercy, and tourne
him againe louingly vnto vs with a-
boundaunce of the goſpels bleſſig.
And though he ſcourge vs a whyle
with theſe vncircũciſed ſhaueligs,
yet if we take his fatherly correctiõ
thankfully, he wil deale mercifullie
with his Sion, and ſet vp the liuing
walles of his engliſh Hieruſalem a
gaine, though not for our ſakes, yet
for the glori of his own name, that
the blaſphemous braggers ſhal not
ſai: wher is now their God: which
cõfortable ſuccour the holy one of
Iſrael graunt, euen Ieſus Chriſt the
onli ſauiour of the world, to whom
with the father & the holy goſte, be
al honor, glory, praiſe & dominion,
nowe and for euermore.

Amen.

Archedeacon of Leiceſter, the king of England his moſt excellent maieſties Embaſſadour in Denmarke,

To the ſincere, gentle harted, and godly Reader.

FOraſmuch as ther be ſome (doubtles (euen at this preſent, as it hath alwaies ben the wont of mens iudgementes to be variable and dyuerſe, which thinke the cõtrouerſy that is betwene the king of England & of Fraunce his moſt rotal maieſtie, and the Biſhop of Rome, conſiſteth in this point: Becauſe the Kinges ſaid maieſtie hath taken the moſt excellent & moſt noble Lady Anne to his wife: wheras in veri dede not withſtãding, the matter is far otherwiſe, and nothing ſo. VVherefore, to the intent al that truly & hartely fauour the Goſpell of Chriſt (whych that moſt godly & moſt vertuous prince, doth with all diligent endeuour, in euery place aduaunce, to the honor of almyghtie God, and to the profuit and commoditie of al chriſtian people) & that are not enemies, but louers of the truth (whych euerye wher

wher iuſtly claimeth the vpperhād & to her, al thīges, though thei ſtrugle with her neuer ſo much in the beginning, yet obey & geue place at length, as mete it is thei ſhold) may the more fully vnderſtand the chief point of that controuerſy, & becauſe thei ſhal not be ignoraunt, what the hole voyce and reſolute determination of the beſt & greateſt learned biſhops with al the nobles and commons of England is, not onely in that cauſe of Matrimony, but alſo in the defendinge of the goſpels doctrine: This Oration of the biſſ of Wincheſter (a man excellētly learned in al kynde of learnyng) entitelled De vera Obedientia, that is, concerning true Obedience, whiche he made lately in Englād, ſhal go opēly abrode. But as touching this biſſhops worthy praiſes, ther ſhalbe nothing ſpoken of me at this tyme: Not onely becauſe thei are infinit, but becauſe thei are far better knowne to al Chriſtendome, than becōmeth me here to make reherſal. And as for the Oration it ſelfe (which as it is moſt learned, ſo is it moſte elegaunt

gaunt) to what purpose ſhoulde I make any wordes of it, ſeing it praiſeth it ſelfe inough, and ſince good wine nedeth no tauerne buſh to vtter it. But yet in this Oration, whoſoeuer thou art, moſt gentle reader, thou ſhalt beſides other matters, ſe it notably and learnedly handled, of what importaunce and howe inuincible the power and excellency of goddes truth is: which as it may now and then be preſſed of enemies, ſo it cannot poſſibly be oppreſſed after ſuch ſorte, but it commeth agayn at length behinde the ſcrine, more glorious and more welcome.

Though the truth be bitten: it is not all eaten. It wyl come agayne. Goſpell in your mouth.

Thou ſhalt ſe also touching Obedience, that obedience is ſubiect to truth, and what is to be iudged true obedience. Beſides this of mens traditions, which for the moſt part, are vtterly repugnaũt against the truth of gods law. And ther by the way, he ſpeaketh of the kings ſaid highnes Mariage, which (by the ripe iudgement, authoritie & priuiledge of the moſt and principal Vniuerſities of the world, and than with the cõſent of the hole church of England) he con

Traditions for the moſt part are contrari to goddes lawes.

contracted with the moſt clear and moſt noble lady quene Anne. After that, touching the kinges maieſties title, as pertaining to the ſupreme head of the church of Englād. Laſtly of all, of the falſe pretenſed ſupremacy of the Biſ. of Rome, in the Realme of England, moſt iuſtly abrogated, & how all other biſhops being felow like to him in their fūction, yea in ſom pointes aboue him alſo within their owne prouinces, were before time bound to him by their othe.

But be thou moſt ſurely perſuaded of this good Reader, that the B. of Rome (if ther wer no cauſe els but this Mariage) would eaſely cōtent him ſelf: ſpecially, hauing one morſel or other caſt him. But whan he ſeeth ſo mightie a king, being a right vertuous and a great learned prince, ſo ſincerely and ſo hartely to fauour the goſpel of Chriſt, and perceiueth the yearli rauenous prai (yea ſo large a pray, that it came to a ſmuch almoſt as al the kings reuenues) ſnapped out of hys handes, & that he could no longer exercice

his

his tiranny in the Kinges maieſties Realme(alas it hath bene to cruell & bitter all this while)nor make lawes as he hath done mani,to the cō tumely & reproch of the maieſty of God,Which is euident that he hath done in times paſte, vnder the title of the catholike church,and the authoritie of the Apoſtles Peter and Paul (whan notwithſtāding he was a very rauenynge wolfe, dreſſed in ſhepes clothing,calling himſelf ſeruaunt of ſeruauntes)to the great damage of the chriſten commō welth: A man may ſai,that was it, that byt the mare by the thombe, therof aroſe theſe diſcordes,theſe deadly malices,& ſo great troublous buſtlinges. For if it wer not thus,no man could beleue,that this Iupiter of Olimpus,which hath falſely taken vpon hym power , wherein is more bragge than hurt,would haue done his beſt,that this good and godly and right goſpelike prince ſhoulde be falſely betraied to all the reſt of Monarkes and princes.

The B. of Rome hathe made contumelious lawes agaynſt God, vnder pretence of the catholyk church. And haue not his impes done the like now in england, trowe you?

Netherlet it moue the (gentle reder) that the B, of Wicheſter, did not

He tooke hym more leasure in applyinge to the truth, than in runnynge from the truth.

aforenowe, apply to this opinion for he himself in this Oratiō sheweth the cause, why he did it not.

And if he had said neuer a worde, yet thou knowest wel, what a witti part it is, for a man to suspend his iudgement, and not to be to rashe in geuing of sentence. It is an olde saieng: Mary Magdalen profited vs lesse in her quicke belefe that Christ was risen, than Thomas that was longer in doubt. A man may tightly cal him Fabius, that with his aduised takyng of leasure restored the matter to his ful perfection. Albeit I speake not this, as though Winchestre had not boulted out this case secretly with himself before hād (for he boulted it euen to the brāne long agoo out of doubt) but that, running faire and softly, he would first with his painful studi, pluck the mater out of the darke, although of it self, it was clearly sound inough, but by reason of sondry opinions, it was lapped vp and made darke: and than did he debate it wittily to and fro. and so at last (after long & great deliberation had in the mater

ter

ter) because there is no better counsailour, than leasure and tyme, he would resolutelye with his learned & consūmate iudgemēt confirme it.

Thou shouldest (gentle Reader) esteme his censure and authoritie to be of the more waightie credence, in asmuch as the matter was not rashly, and at aladuentures, but with iudgement (as thou seest) and with wisdome examined and discussed. As for this is no new example, to be against the Bis. of Rome: seing that not only this man, but many mē many times, yea and right great lerned men aforenowe, haue done the same euē in writinges: wherin thei both painted him out in his colours, & made his sleightes, falshead, fraudes, & disceateful wiles, openli knowē to the world. Therfor if thou at ani time hereto fore haue doubted either of true obedience, or of the kings maiesties mariage or title, eyther els of the b. of Romes false pretenced supremaci, as if thou hadest a good smellīg nose, & a soūd iudgement, I think thou didst not, yet hauing red ouer this Oration (which if thou fauor the

In dede hys censure was not so credyble than but it is twise so incredyble now.

Looke how this manne praiseth Luther and the Germaynes here, & now calleth them heretiques.

what sai you to the mariage nowe, you plattee face papist.

the truth, & hate the tirannie of the bishop of Rome and his deuelysh fraudulent falshode, shal doutlesse wonderfullye content the) throwe down thine errour, & acknowledge the truthe now freelye offred the at length: considering with thy selfe, that it is better late to do so, thanne uer to repent. Fare thou harteli wel most gentle Reader, and not onelye loue this most valeaũt king of England & of Fraunce, who vndoutedlye was by the prouidence of God, borne to defend the Gospel: but also honour him, and with al thi hart serue him most obedientlye. As for this VVincheſter who was long ago wythout doubt reputed among the greateſt learned mẽ. geue him thi good word, with most honorable commẽdations.

O flattering theefe, why do you slander that noble hynge now thus?

¶ The Oration of Stephan bishop of VVincher, concerning true Obedience.

AS I considered and secretly wayed wyth my self, the preſēt ſtate of orders in the church of England, wherin, whan I ſaw that veri many thinges, which (whether it were long of men or of times) haue bene of long ſeaſon confuſeli iombled together, ſome thinges blemiſhed, and ſome thinges decaied, and almoſt turned quite vpſide down. wer by the perfect line and plūmet of Gods word, called againe, laid anew, and reſtored vnto the auncient foundations of gods worke: Anon came into my mind (euen with a certaine reuerent admiratiō) the inuincible power & excellencie of gods vnfailing truth, which (albeit it ſemeth now & than vnto mans perſuaſion to ſuſtain veri ſore and long enduring ouerthrowes) yet it remaineth euer hole, cōſtant and certain. And though it be darkened with mens ſleightie iugling and counterfait crafts, as it wer

I trust thys your sayeng will be found truer than you loke for

with certain mists for a while, yet at the time of god apoited, it bursteth out again, & sheweth it selfe clearly, as the son doth whan darknes is banished & chaced a waie: that god may be found iust in his saienges, & haue the victori when heis iudged.

Psalm. 51

And I doubt not, but many both learned, graue, and right good men were in the selfe same, or not much vnlyke thought that I was in: And wher thei haue bene tangled with a certain folish and cankred vile superstition, & haue wrestled against the truth of a long time: thys aduised consideration hath pulled awai al their scrupulous doubtes: and by the working of gods grace, hath cōueyed and brought them into the light of the true veritie.

And to confesse plainli of mi self, wher I was a veri earnest setter furth and defendout of the law & of the letter, as I mai so saye: And where I could do nothing with a worfe wil, nor more against my mynde, than to shrynke from any thing that I had bene before persuaded in, what soeuer it were: the further that my iudgement swarued from the truth

Cynthestes ernest in defence of the law and the letter.

in that behalfe, so muche the more vehemently & eagerly me thought I was astonied, when I knewe the truth: euen as a mans eies being dulled with darknes, are wont to be amased at sodaine brightnes, whan the light breaketh out.

when you were so long in receiuyng the truth, what causeth you now after so longe time, so deuily to leape from it.

For I had not the gift, that Paul vndoubtedly had: who, assone as god had ouerthrowne him, fel doun and spake the wordes of obediēce, saiēg: lord what wylt thou haue me to do? For that chosē vessel had so much plentie of the grace of God, that he confessed by and by, it was the voice of god that checked him, and called him from his errour, and so committed himself holli to the gouernaunce of God, and obeyed him in all truth, and dyd after hym in all poyntes without any more ado. But as for me (albeit my iudgement hathe bene alwaye, that the truth ought to be obeyed, whych doubtles doth come altogether of God) yet in the discussing and trial of the truth. I did not so easely cōtent my selfe. But I so framed my self, that as it had ben in asking the

Actes. 9.

w. circumspect in trying the truth than.

iudgement of all my ſenſes, onles I perceiued that I firſt of al heard thē wyth myne eares, ſmelled them at my noſe, ſaw them with mine eyes, & felt them with my hands, I thought I had not ſene inough: and that to the intent I might ſubmit & captiuate the wit of my vnderſtandyng to the truth, as though I had throughly perceiued and knowne it.

Thys my leaſure takyng, whych ſome perchaūce tecken for to much obſtinate repining, my minde is not to aſcribe vnto mine own wiſdome or grauitie, leaſt anye man would thinke, I were faine (as they ſay) to praiſe my ſelf for lack of good neighbours. But I do moſt conſtauntly affirm and impute it (as right is) vnto the ſōdry working of god, in ſetting furth the truth, of whō al men, whan thei ar taught, which be taught in dede according to thys ſayeng: & ye ſhalbe al taught of God: as euerī one ſhal fele him ſelf affected in aſſenting vnto the truthe, ſo mai he talke & make plain menciō.

But as for the cauſes, why thys man embraceth the knowledge of

the truth whan god offreth it, more spedely, that man more slowli, and another man neuer in al his life: it is neither geuē to men alwaies to perceiue, nor permitted to searche out, further then is expressed in scriptures. So that mine entent is not, presentli to rēder the cause of mi slaknes, or to clayme that aduised leasure taking, as a proper inward gyft of mine owne, which were not only a token of folishnes with men, but also a veri wikednes towardes god: but I would rather yeld accompt to the world, what it was that chaunged mine opinion so much, & what caused me now at length to dissent fro my selfe, and fro mine own former words and dedes. And in dede (to tel you at a word) that compelled me, that cōpelleth al mē, when God seeth his time: euen the mightie power of the truthe, whereunto all thynges at length, obeye and are subiecte.

Not to be searched further then is expressed in scriptures.

Truth compelled w. to forsake hys father of ro. nay forsothe a fat bishopricke, but yet he loueth him neuer the worse in hys hart.

Now I desire & hartely pray the (gentle reader) to bear frendli with me, in speakyng of true obedience: and such thinges as for thi sake the

rules eyther of Rethorike or Logike require of a writer: that is, that I should at the beginning geue the occasion, either to be lowingly bent or fit to be instruct, or els to be attentiue, which as yet I haue nothyng done: yet geue them to me agayne, as if thou hadst receyued them, & forgeue me them, as though thou werperfectli paied thē in dede. For seing I perceiue, that I haue obeyed truli, in aknowledging the truth, I cannot chose, but set forth something openli, touching true Obedience. And though I am not able to speake of it according to the worthines of the thing. yet myne endeuour shalbe to speake of it openly, and to openit plainlye.

what is yong obedyence now ye forsake that truth.

And to come roundly to my purpose: I thinke, that to obey truly. is nothyng els, but to obeye vnto the truth. And god is the truth, as scripture recordeth, wherin he geueth his chief light vnto vs: so muche, that whosoeuer seketh light in ani other place, & goeth about to fet it out of mens puddels & qualmyres, and not out of the most pure & clear foūtain

Truthe to be sought only in scripture.

if

it selfe, they drawe & bring vp now and than, I wot not what, foule & myrie geare, vneffectual, and to no purpose, for the quenching of mens thirstie desires, which pertaineth al together propetlie vnto the truth it self. For it is onlye he that geueth vs the holsome water of the truth: whereof he that drinketh in obeying the fayth, whych Iesus Christ hath published, he shal also bryng forth the fruit of true obedience, so that he shal neuer be thirsty. For albeit God in the olde law, whan he had determined in slaine sacrifices and offeringes, to shadow and signifie his owne sincere and pure seruice & honour (which the true worshippers should do now in spirite and truth) and for that cause gaue straight cõmaundement, that those slaine sacrifices & oblacions, shuld be had in high honour & deuocion: to shew, how much more dearly he estemed obedience, he hath manyfestlye declared in many places of the Scriptures, that he setteth more by obedience, than by all oblacions and sacryfyces. For so speaketh

1. Regu. 15. Samuel out of the ſpirit of God vnto Saul: would the Lord haue offetiges & ſacrifices (ſaith he) and not rather that the Lords word ſhould be obeied? Obedience is better thā brent offeringes: and to take hede, is more thā to offer the fat of rams. Moſes alſo in Deuteronomy, commēding obedience vnto the people, ſaith: Lo (ſaith Moſes) I ſet before your face this day, bleſſing and curſing. Bleſſing, if ye obei vnto the cō maundementes of the Lorde your God, which I commaund you this day. And curſing, if ye do not obey. Of this true obedience, S. Paul maketh mencion in theſe wordes, writing to the Romains, wher he ſaith he receiued grace and Apoſtleſhip, that faithe might be obeied among all people. For faith requireth obedience: that is, that we acknoledge the will of God in Chriſt, which is the word of the father. And being made partakers of the grace of God by his merit, ſhold alſo thorow the ſame Chriſt our Lord, both beleue in obeieng, and obei in beleuing.

And whoſoeuer putteth his per-

feet

fect beleif and hope in God, loketh for reward at his onely handes, and without God counteth not vpō his owne workes and dedes: but pointeth them their limites, so that he rendreth them vnto god, as though they came of God, from whom all good thinges procede, & aknoledgeth God to be the only beginning & finishing of al goodnes. That mē doubtles is he, that may be sayd to obai truli, that is to sai: in folowyng the truth, & for truthes sake, in contemning al thinges that this deceiuable world is wont to make shewe of and to magnify.

The true faith maketh no reckening of hys owne workes.

And to the intent mankind should clearly & plainli (not ōly with eares but also with eies) vnderstand and se this truth of Obedience, that is to say: to the intent as many as are children should be drawne both outwardly & inwardly of the heauenly father, to attain that truth: the word (Iesus Christ) proceded from the father into the virgin: and takyng vpō him a very true & mortal body, became flesh, and the very same, both God and man, dwelt amōg vs: shewing

wing his glori in signes & power, as the glory of the only begotten sone of the father, and told vs plainly of God, whom no man hath sene at a-ny time, and went before and shew-ed vs the true waye of obedience: That like as bi the disobedience of one man, many became sinners, so by the obedience of one, many should be made righteous: And that death (whom the sinne of disobedience brought in) being ouercome, menne should truely liue in dede in Christ, bi vertue of obedience. For to beleue surely in God, and to cleaue cõstauntly vnto him (whiche the Scripture calleth a righteous mans life) is doubtles to obei him: and in exercising obedience, to chasten the bodi, to bring the flesh into seruitude, to subdue the kingdõ of sinne, asmuch as lieth in vs: to depend of God, to make our members seruauntes of righteousnes, to set light by our own cõmoditie: and for gods sake, to care for other mens, to trust that God himself wil be our rewarde, & without God or besides God, to counte nothing pleasaunt or delectable.

No man hath sen god at any tyme.

This

This is to loue the Lord with al our heart, which is a gelous God, that cannot awai with ani man that serueth euery master: but he requireth to haue the man al hole to himself & not to be hewne in peces, to serue two diuers masters cōmaūdemētes: but he wilbe onli worshipped, & he wilbe onli serued of thē that be his.

math. 22. e. 001. xx. why do you with tiranny cause men to worshyp a there?

This secret wil of God beig (by his vnsearcheable deuise) hid from the beginning, is now in the end of the world reueled vnto vs, bi our Christ, the slain sacrifice & raunsom of mā kind: who in apeasing the most iustly deserued wrath of god, hath declared the holsom doctrine of obedience in his dedes, & hath suffred for vs, leauing vs an ensample, that we should folow his fotesteps: which fotesteps, if we will consider, we shal plaily find, that to be true obedience, which (al other matters set a part) executeth and practiceth the will of God, exprest to mankind in the worde, which is Christ: & being stered vp of God, ascribeth also the effect & ende vnto God, which geueth the gift, both to wil & to work according to his owne good will.

Gods secret wyll reueled in Christ.

where is our own fre wyl then.

Therfor whan Christs mother troubled him, as he was teaching in the temple, & occupied in the office of obediēce, dost thou not know (quod he) that I must nedes be about my fathers busines? to shewe manifestly, that euen the affection of nature, oughte to obei the will of God, and that nothing ought to be done, before the cōmaundement of God, bi obedience. As the father commaūded me (saith he) so I do. And in another place: I am not sent but vnto the lost shepe of the house of Israel: shewing therbi, that nothing ought to be desired, that shoulde blemish the office of true obedience.

Luke. 2.

Nature ought to obeye the wyll of God.

John. 14.

Math. 15.

whan the hour of Christes passiō drewe nere, & whan he had made the fourm of praier, that should be most conuenient for our weak frailtie at the peril of death: Father, if it be possible, let this cup passe frō me he added straight waies (to declar the victori of obedience more plainly) not as I wil but as thou wilt: which his fathers commaundementes, god the sonne obeied to the vttermost, in the mistery of our redemtiō

Math. 26.

to shew vs how we should obey.

And because (as the old said sawe is) we should not spil the wine with powring in water, & lose al the fruit of obedience, he hath also with his owne most true & most certain wordes taught vs in another place (and performed the same also in his dedes) that he sought not his own glory, through his obedience but his fathers. I (saith he) seke not mine owne glory, but my fathers. If I (saith he) glorify my selfe my glory is nothing. And in another place, he geueth vs more plain warning of this, saiyng: Let your lighte so shine before men, that thei mai glorify your father which is in heauen. Iohn. viij.

If we trust vpon cõmendation or vaine glory at mens handes, we lose our reward, & shal appear one daye before the presence of the almighty most high God, with emtie vessels like the folish virgins, and shal suffre a most greuous repulse of the spouse at his cõming. Therfore let not thy lefte hand knowe what thy right hand doth. Left hand matter is yngaine, and whatsoeuer proceth! Take heede of that betyme therfor. math. 25. math. 6.

deth of the flesh, is wicked. Do not therfore defile, nor marre gods maters with mans deuises, but obei secretly from the flesh, and God shal reward the in secret.

Defyle not gods maters with the deuises of men.

And herunto I suppose it may be applied, that s. Paul writeth saieng: Not he that is a Iew opēli, is a Iew, neither is the circūcision of the flesh that is done openly, Circumcision: but he that is a Iew secretly, is a right Iew. & the circumcision of the heart, is the circumcision, that consisteth in the spirit, & not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God. Let the Lorde therfore be both our part, & the hole sum of our inheritaunce, who only shal restore a sure inheritaūce vnto vs: that is to say, let vs obey god. for Gods sake, which only is true Obedience, that returneth thither whence it came: & wher it proceded of truth: it goeth into truth, & is contained of al one beginning and endyng.

Roma. 2.

Psalm. 16.

By this maner of order, it semeth that s. paul setfurth the rule of obedience, whan he bad seruauntes be obediēt vnto their masters for gods sake

Colos. 3.

sake, declaring plainly, that God is the authour and rewarder of that iust obedient seruice, that seruaun-tes do vnto their bodily masters: So that whatsoeuer shall certainly appere to be done in his name, we may not doubt, but he wil accept & take it in good part. And according therto, it appereth to be written in the gospel: blessed shal you be, whē mē hate you, and persecute you, &c for the sōne of mans sake. Reioyce & be glad, for your reward is great in heuen. For if we suffre buffeting iustly for our faultes (as Saint Peter saith) what gramercy is it to vs? math. 5.

what is your reward then, for persecuting of them that preache it.

For that is exibited vnto the lawes, and not vnto God: euen as that is not worthy of any reward at Gods hand, howe godly soeuer it seme in outward apperaunce, that hunteth after any earthly matter, glory or estimation of man, which is the propertie of hipocrits, vnto whom the saieng of God is mencioned: Thou hast receiued thy reward.

For so shal the manne be cursed that obeieth not GOD, and that happeneth two maner of waies: either

either when we put the commaundements of God in practice in outwarde shewe before men, or els for ambicious vaine glorie or vauntage sake: whereof I haue spoken some thing already before.

The cars of god two maner of waies

As for the final iudgement of this matter, God hath particularlye reserued it vnto hym selfe, to be pronoūced at the dai of his iust iudgement: most earnestlie inhibiting vs, that we pronounce not rashly of any mans heart in that behalfe: yea though thei do altogether as euyll as we haue done in this kinde of sin (as he hath not prohibited men to talke of all thynges, or in that, that men are permitted to iudge of) whē we cloke true obedience with counterfaite obedience, and neglecting that that god cōmaundeth, we prouide vs other ware to kepe vs occupien withal, turning the deafe eare to that most sore sentence of Gods truth: In vaine do you worship me, in the commaundementes and doctrines of men, seing you haue broken my preceptes for your own tradition. And to the entent we do not so,

Gods commandement not to be cloked wyth mans.

math. 15

so we ought first of al, to take hede, that we kepe sure li that marke, which is certain, & is signed with the finger of god, whereby we mai make a distinction betwene gods causes and mans, that thei be not shuffled together. First of al therfore, reken vpon this for a certeintye, that the talke of God contained in the holy scriptures, bi the declaracion of the holy ghost, doth report vnto vs the most certain true word of god, that we mai therby vnderstand & learne his wil, and the certaintie of his cō-maundementes & doctrine: To the entent, being instruct that waye of commaundementes, we maye goo straight to the countrie euerlasting.

The wordes of god sufficient to teache the waye of obedience.

Than Sir, what is commaūded in them? Mani thinges are commaunded in them surelie. Wherof some thinges in the olde testament were chieflie spoken, not to iustifye the soule inwardlie, but for the keping of the people in order, which in this new people regenerate in Christ, ar vanished awaye, euen as it were by the light of truth succedig darknes, which it wer superfluous, & not to

the purpose, to treat of at this present, for somuch as mine intent is to speake onelye of those preceptes, which god determined to signifie, not vnto one onely sort of people, but bi one sort of people, vnto al nations, whereof not somuch as one iote or one title coulde be pretermitted. And these of some men are called Moral preceptes: which forasmuch as they pertaine also to holines and chastitie of life and maners, they are demed to abide stil perfectli in their ful strēgth & vertue. And therof we mai be persuaded, aswel bi mani other places, as nameli by thys place of the gospel, wher Christ teaching the people, pronounceth so plainly, that we shall not enter into the kingdom of heauen, onles our righteousnes excede the righteousnesse of the Scribes & Phariſes. In which saieng: albeit Christ dyd not altogether allowe the ryghteousnesse of the Phariſies, because it was onlie humaine and carnall righteousnesse, that is to saie: it consisted in outwarde ipocrisye of dedes and sprong not out of that fountaine of the

Moral preceptes.

Matthew. 5.

the spirit, whom the onlie grace of God (in the same Christes merites) causeth to spoute water: yet bi this cōference we take it, that he shewed & admonished vs, of the pure behauour which the lawe required in the scribes & pharises, & not to remit nor to set it at liberti bi the doctrine of the gospel, but bi that significatiō of wordes, to enlarge the limites of holines & chastitie, & to require the increace and going forward therof in this newe law.

For the liberti which is geuen vnto vs bi the gospel, and is thought to haue abrogated Moses law, pertaineth nothing to that intent, that we in any wise may forget the morall preceptes, and haunt a lyght, dissolute and filthie maner of lyfe: but that we should be fre from sin, and become the seruaunts of righteousnesse, and that loke what the will of God teacheth vs in scriptures, to tende vnto godlynesse, we shuld haūt that, & embrace that, according to gods cōmaūdemēt. so as the state of our obediēce mai be cōstaūtly certain: of the which moral

The will of god in scriptures teacheth that wedlock tendeth to godlynes and is honorable among all men and therfore prestes ibrace is

preceptes in the old law, to speake of some (for my purpose is not to make present rehersal particularlie of them al) the Leuitical preceptes touching forbidden and incestious mariage (as farre as they concerne chaste and pure wedlocke, wherein the whole custome of mans lyfe is contained, & the original fountaine of the increace of people cõsisteth) are alwayes reputed to be of suche sort, that being in dede genẽ first to the Iewes (because they should be declared to auaunce the law of nature) they should pertain to al maner of people in the hole world for euermore: wherin doutles, both the voice of nature & the cõmaũdemẽt of god haue forbiddẽ, whatsoeuer is cõtrari to the cõdiciõ of thẽ both.

wedlocke chaste pure.

And among these, seing there is a commaundement, that a man shall not marie hys brothers wyfe, what ought or could the king of England his most excellent maiesti haue don, otherwise then bi the hole consent of the people, & iudgement of hys church he hath don? that is, that he should be deuorced frõ vnlauful cõ

The L. mary age with ladi Anne chaste and lawfull you say, and he could not by gods law haue the ladi Katerine.

tractes

tractes, & vse lauful & permitted copulaciō: & obeieng (as mete it was) conformabli vnto that cōmaundement, he should cast of her, whom nether law nor right permitted him to retain, & take him to chast & lauful marige. Wherī forasmuch as the iudgement of Goddes word might haue sufficed, wherunto al men ought to obei without stopping or staiyng: yet the kings most roial maiesti was cōtent, to haue the assisting cōsentes of men of notable grauitie, & the censures of the most famous Vniuersities of the world. And all to the entent, that men should thinke he did, that he both might do, and ought to do vprightli wel, seing the best learned and worthy good men haue subscribed vnto it: & that he shewed such obediēce in so doing, as the truth of gods word semeth to require of eueri godli & good man: so as it might be said, that he both obeied god, & obeied truli. Of whō forasmuche as I am purposed to speake, I could not passe ouer wyth silence, that. that occasion had cōmodiousli offred vpon this mater.

Than the b. of Cantorb. was not all the doer, but the churche and parlyament.

If it wer so by gods worde than, why doe you say nai now, whi doth d. ridlelye in prison pf this Oration be true? So by youre double sayings you are a double traitour and a beri wethercoh

The king maried, then for obediēce and not for wantonnes. marcke thys well.

But let vs turne to the purporſe, which chefli ſtandeth in this point, that we ſhew, that he obeieth truelie, which walketh in the law of the Lord, and blencheth not out of the way of gods cõmaundementes: but with an humble and willing heart committeth him ſelfe to gods wil, neuer to refuſe the autoriti of god, and to obey both him and al them, whom God commaundeth hym to obeye for his ſake. In dede god (according to hys exceding great and vnſpeakeable goodnes toward mãkinde) to encreace aboundaunce of glory in vs, whereby he might ſtablish preſent mater for vs, to exerciſe out ſelues godlye and thanke worthelye in, ſubſtituted men: who being put in authoritie as his Vicegerents, ſhould requite obedience, which we muſt do vnto them wyth no leſſe fruite for Gods ſake, than we ſhould do it (what honour ſoeuer it wer) immediately vnto God him ſelf. And in that place he hath ſet princes, whõ as repreſentours of his image vnto mẽ, he wold haue to be reputed in the ſuprem & moſt hie roume,

Higher powers to be obeyed for Gods ſake.

Princes repreſent gods ymage, & excel al men.

roume, & to excell among all other humane creatures, as S. Peter wry- 1. pete. 2.
teth: & that the same princes reigne by his authoritie, as the holy pro- Proues. viii.
uerbes make reporte: By me (sayeth God) kinges reigne. In so much that after Paules saieng: Who soeuer re- Roma. 13.
sisteth power, resisteth the ordina- Titus. 3.
unce of God, which Paul openyng that plainelye vnto Titus, that he speaketh here generally, cōmaūded him, to warne al men to obey their princes. And ther be other men ap-
poinred also of god, to requite obe-
dience, howbeit in an inferiour or-
der. For the wife being in subiectiō to her husband, the seruaunt to the master, and to whom soeuer ani mā is in subiection, they must also obey their gouerners for gods sake, wher of it chaunceth nowe and than, that some men, not vnderstandyng the sense of gods law rightly, stand in dout, whan two gouernours com maundements geuen at all one selfe same time, vari & be cōtrari & mani festly repugnaunt one to the other, whether of thē ought firste & most principalli to be obeied. As for exā

The maſter biddeth the ſeruaunt to do a thing, & the king commaũdeth him to do a clean contrary thing, & both at one time, & in one moment. And foraſmuch as thei ought both to be obeied for Gods ſake by the word of god, the very nature of thinges cannot admit both their cõmaundementes to be applied at all one ſelf ſame time, & of al one ſelf ſame man. Herin like as it might be douted of ſome man (that hath not yet his wits much exercciſed) whether of them the ſeruaũt is boũdẽ chiefli & moſt principalli to obey, euẽ ſo vnto him that marketh well other lyke cauſes, the ſolutiõ of ſuch a queſtion ſhal anon plainli appear, that nature it ſelfe frameth the matter ſo, that the inferiours muſt alſo ſerue, & geue place to the ſuperiors. Therfore in this propounded example, the ſeruaunt muſt not obey his Maſter, but the king, as his ſuperior maſter: as him, whom both the maſter & ſeruaunt are bound to obey. And foraſmuch as we aknowledge, that ther is one aboue both the ſeruaut, maſter and king, euen God the king

of

of kinges & Lord of Lordes, of whō al thinges, by whom al thinges, and in whom al thinges are: his commaundementes al men ought to obey, principally & afore al thinges, both seruaunt, master and king: that they may appere, to haue obeied al men for Gods sake, but no man without God, nor againſt God. Therefore is the wife praiſed, that obeieth her huſbād, yea in al lauful things: for it is better to obei God than men.

Al menne ought to obeye goddes commaundements, thoughe the princes commaunde contrarye.

No man to be obeyed without god nor againſte God.

Actes. 5.

Thus in a ſmuche as it is manifeſt, that an order ought to be kept in obedience, & that our dutie is to obei euery one chiefly, after ſuch ſort, as he excelleth other in order & prerogatiue bi the teſtimoni of gods law: I thincke it requiſite for me (ſeing I am ſpeaking of the neceſſary degre of orders) to touch alſo in this place that cauſe, which is cōmonly in vre & ſpoken of at this day almoſt in al mens handes and al mens mouthes; whether the hole cōſent of Engliſh men be grounded vpon gods law, in that thei declare and honour the moſt victorious & moſt mighty prince Henry the. viii. king of England

The kynges ſupremacye grounded vpon Gods woord.

and

and of Fraunce, Defendour of the faith, and Lord of Ireland, to be in earth the suprem head of the church of Englande, & is graunted vnto him by free common consent in the open court of parliament, to vse his right, and to call him selfe Supreme head of the Church of England aswel in name as in dede.

Wherin ther is no newly inuented matter wrought: only their wil was to haue the power pertaining to a prince by Gods law, to be the more clearly expressed, with a more fitte terme, to expresse it by: namely for this purpose, to with draw that counterfait vain opinion out of the cōmō peoples heades, which the false pretensed power of the b. of Rome, had (for the space of certain yeres) blīded thē with al, to the great impechment of the kings authoriti, which al men are bounden to wish, and to their vttermost power, see kept safe, restored & defended frō wronges. Wherin surely I se no cause whi any man should be offended that the King is called the heade of the Church of England, rather then the

The b. of ro. blinded eng lyshe people with hys power.

All menne bound to defend theyr princes supremacye, than not to suffer it to be taken fro [illegible]

the head of the Realm of England.

Here now I appeal vnto the (gentle Reader) to set apart the terming of words in the mean season, and to weigh the matter self. For I am not ignoraunt of the force of bothe the maner of speches, & that this word (church) signifieth not euery cõgregatiõ (but with an adiectiõ, as: I hate the malignãt church) but it signifieth that onli multitude of people, which being vnited in the professiõ of Christ, is growne into one body. For this cam in by custome, that this terme, church, which els is a cõmon term, became (notwithstanding) the propername of a more excellent body. But this word (Realme) is more plainly knowne, & comprehendeth al subiectes of the kinges dominiõs, whosoeuer thei be, & of what condicion soeuer thei be, whether thei be Iewes, Barbariãs, Saracens, Turkes, or Christians.

swongh the quene wolde forgo it.

what the churche is.

Than seing in this cause which I haue in hand, the matter that is mẽt bi it, is of such sort, that it agreith indifferently with both maner of speches

ches, & seing the church of Englād cōsisteth of the same sortes of peo-ple at this day, that are comprised in this word (Realm) of whom the king is called the head: shal he not being called the head of the Realm of England, be also the head of the same men, when thei are named the church of Englād? Shal the terming of wordes, in asmuch as thei haue non other vse, but to signify things, be of such force in this cause, as to turne the nature of the things them selues vp side doune? that one man shold be taken in his estate of being & another in his estate, al one according to the diuersitie of names? I know wel inough, that by relatiō of names, the offices at somtimes chaunged, and that the self same al one man, as he is called by this name or that name, must also doo the partes of office agreing to that name. But if the kig be the head of the realm, that is as much as a man would say, he hath so many as ar withi the dominiō of the realm, vnited vnto him self, as vnto one body, that thei mai take him for their supreme head: cō

The kyng be ing heade of the Realme, must also be the heade of the churche.

ſt be by any poſſible meanes through the chaũging of the name, for al one ſelf ſame man, to be in ſubiectiõ to this head, & not to be in ſubiection to this head, in al one kind of ſubiection, that is to ſay, for gods ſake For ther is no ſubiectiõ againſt god. what foly wer it than, for a man to confeſſe, that all one man (if ye luſt to call him Iohn) dwelling in England, is in ſubiection to the king as vnto the head: & if ye cal him a Chriſtian, of the ſame ſort to ſai, that he is not a ſubiect? for in that his abiding is in England, he is of the realme: and in that he is a Chriſtiã dwelling in Englande, he is demed to be of the Church of England.

no ſubiectiõ againſt god.

The kyng (ſay thei) is the head of the Realme, but not of the church: wher as notwithſtanding, the church of Englande, is nothing elles, but the congregation of men & women of the cleargy & of the Laitie vnited in Chriſts profeſſiõ within the realme of England: that is to ſai: it is iuſtly to be called the Church, bi cauſe it is a cõmunion of Chriſten people: & of the place, it is to be named the church

The church is both of the Laytye and clergye.

Church of England, as is the church of Fraunce, the church of Spain, and the Church of Rome: So that thei, which confesse the kinges maiestie to be supreme head of the Realme, and yet graunt him not to be suprem head of the church (on gods name) being one congregation in the same realme (which is ether their own ignorãce, or their own malice) this is their playn meaning, that the king is the head of the vnfaithfull, & not of the faithful, except the king him selfe be an infidel, that ether an infidel king doth bear rule ouer a faithfull or vnfaithfull people, or els the same king coupling himselfe to the christian Church, geueth ouer (from thence forth) his authoritie and power. I wonder exceadingly, that any such one is found, that can mean thus: and yet I cannot find what the aduersaries haue to say for thẽ selues, but thus. As for any other sure grounded allegation, thei bring none, but suche as hangeth together in no point, nor agreeth with it self.

The king (say thei) is heade of the Realme, but not of the Church. O-

What

What an absurde and foolish saieng is that? As though, by cause the people beginneth now to beleue in god, it were a iust cause, why thei should be no more in subiection to the king Gods Lieutenaunt, but be exempt quite from his body. But saint Paul taughte not so, whyche saide, that the authoritie of Masters ouer their seruauntes, should not be chaunged or diminished throughe theit professing of Christ, but warned them to keepe it still in perfitte authoritie, bidding seruauntes to be obedient vnto their bodily masters, for Goddes sake.

Note, the people begin now to beleue in god. scilicet the b. of ro. beinge expulced, ergo not afore, whan hys power reygned here.

Collos. 5.

The conuerting of a VVife vnto faith, withdraweth nothing from the authoritie of her husbande, for he is the head of the wyfe still: and because after that she had professed the faith, she shoulde shew no token of misorder, wherby she myght plucke the good willes of some from Religion.

Saint Peters mynde was, that wyues hauynge professed the fayth, shoulde leaue of the office of Preaching (which thei executed by wor-

des

wordes) & win (without the word) their husbands through their chast conuersacion. Therfore the autoritie of the Master towardes the Seruaunt, & the right of the husbands superioriti ouer the wife, is not lost by the meane of religion: And shall it be lost to the Kyng? Who, for asmuch as he) yea though he be an infidele) representeth, as it were, the image of God vpon earth, so that he is called the head and the guide of the people, shal this estate be nipped of, because of the christiā profession, & shal he be called no more the heade of that people, which is the churche, but the nerer he draweth to God by faith (which is the only meane to come to God) shall he so much the furder go awai frō Godsimage? and shall he begyn to be had in so muche the lesse reuerence with the people, for that names sake, that he ought most chefly to be honored for? Truly, if he be the head of the people, and that by the ordinaunce of God, as no man saieth naye, yea euen aswell, when the people, as the prince be most far

Faith the only meane to come to God.

dis-

disseuered from God through infidelitie: how much more now, seing ther accord through the power of God in one profession of faith, and bi that meanes ar a churche ought he to retaine the name of Supreme head? And that he may worthelye be take for the head of the church, he representeth the offyce that he occupieth in Goddes stede, muche more honourably now, than before time, whan he wandred in the darknesse of infidelitye. Paul without difference, biddeth menne obeye those princes that bear the sword. Saint Peter speaketh of kynges by name. Christe him selfe commaundeth tribute to be payed vnto Cesar, and checked hys disciples, for striuing who shuld be the greateste. Kinges of the naciōs (quod he) bear rule ouer them, declaring plainli in so great varietie of degrees and orders, which God doth garnish this world withal, that the dominion & authority pertaineth to none but to princes. But here some man wil say to me: you trauaile about that, that no man is in doubt of.

The king bi foze in darknes, now in the light. Roma. 13

1. Peter. 2.

math. 23.

For who euer denyed, that the prince ought to be obeied? it is moſt certaine, that he that wil not obeye the Prince, is worthi to die for it, as it is cõprehended in the old law, & alſo confirmed in the new law. But we muſt ſee (wyll he ſaye) that the kyng do not paſſe the limytes appointed him, as though thet muſt be an arbitratour for the ordring of his limites: for it is certain, that obedience is due. But how fat the limits of requiring obedience extẽd, that is al the hole queſtion that can be demaunded. VVhat maner of limites ar thoſe that ye tel me of, ſeing the ſcripture hath non ſuch? but generallie ſpeaking of obedience, which the ſubiect is boũd to do vnto the prince, the wife vnto the huſband, or the ſeruaunt to the maſter, it hath not added ſo muche as one ſillable of excepcion, but onli hath preſerued the obedience due vnto God ſafe & hole, that we ſhoulde not harken vnto ani mans worde in al the world againſt God. Elles the ſentences, that cõmaũd obedience are infinite, or without exception, but

Mans word to be obeyd againſt Gods word, but that law & word whiche byddeth ſet vp maſſes and ydo,

but are of indifferent force vniuer-
sally, so that it is but lost labour for
you to tel me of limites, which can
not be proued, by any testimonie of
scripture. VVe ar cōmaūded dout-
les to obey: in that cōsisteth our of-
fice, which if we minde to accomp-
lish with the fauour of god & man,
we must nedes shew humblenes of
hart in obeieng autoritie, how gre-
uous so euer it be, for gods sake, not
questioning, not inquiring, what the
king, what the master, what the hus
band, ought or mai cōmaund other
to do: but if thei take vpō them (ei-
ther of thei town head, or when it
is offered them) more then right &
reason is, they haue a Lorde, vnto
whom they either stand or fall, and
that shal one day sit in iudgement
euen of them. Yet for all this, some
man wil say: Yea, but you promised
in the beginning to speake of that
which you are about now to auoide
your handes of, hauyng forgotten
your purpose, as it apeareth. No sir
sai I, I auoide not my handes of it,
but I say, it is sufficientlye confyr-
med by these that we haue spoken

Pysh seruite against, is against gods worde ergo it is not to be obeyed.

of before, that princes ought to be obeied, by the commaundement of god: yea and to be obeied wythout exception, as a thing, whereof ther is no mencion in that law, which if thou put any thing to, or take any thyng fro, thou art a wycked man, what wold we haue more? For if I must take in hand to interpret the general doctrine of obedience, as it ought to be, & shall cõfer and compare scripture to scripture, & search out the true & right meaning of the scrypture, as the moste godlye and greateſt learned men are both wont & ought to do: I se no cause in dede whi I should do ani lesse than they did. Therfore let vs consider, what those scriptures say, which are alledged on the contrarie part. Obey your Rulers, sayth Paul to the Hebrues: whiche place and the .xiii. to the Romaines som expound of the bishop of Romes autoritie, whych thei call, the eccleſiasticall power. Also in the Actes of the Apostles. Take hede to your selues, & to the hole flocke, of whõ the holy ghost hath set you to be ouerseers, to gouerne

he is wicked that addeth or diminisheth gods word.

Scriptures alledged for the b. of Romes supremacie.

Actes. 20.

uerne the church of God, whom he hath purchaced with his own blud. And leaſt we ſhould paſſe ouer ani thing, although it is ment to ano- ther purpoſe, let vs not omit that, that Peter ſpeaketh, cõcerning the roial preſthode. For this text: what ſo euer thou ſhalt bide in earth. &c. pertaineth to another matter: and this: Fede my ſhepe: beſides that, that Chriſt ſpake wyth hys owne mouth, meaneth no more, but that I haue alreadi ſhewed, was cõmaũ- ded concerning the gouernment of the church. Theſe ſẽtences & ſuch like, though thei be vnderſtãden, as thoſe men would haue thẽ, that is, that by ſhops and miniſters of the word of god in the church, are no- thing againſt the kings autoriti (but þ he maie be called the head of the church) no more, then the obediẽce due to the king, is any thing nipped or diminiſhed in that. that the wife is cõmaũded to obey her huſband, & the ſeruaunt his maſter, as it wer with general ſpeach of words. For lyke as wyth the lawyers, as they them ſelues termeit, there be nowe

1. Peter. 1.

math. 16.

Joan. 21.

and than ſondri iuriſdictions, that procede out of all one thing, & yet thei marre not one another, but thei conſiſt and concurre by the mutual help of one to another: euen ſo in that the gouernment of the church is cõmitted to the Apoſtles, and to thoſe that ſuccede in their roumes, may not be thought to abrogate or diminiſh that, that God hath committed vnto princes, in any condicion. The perſon, vicar, or the pariſh preſtes cure of his pariſhners, is neuer the leſſe, becauſe the biſhoppe ought alſo to ouerſee, neither may the biſhops iuriſdiction be demed of none effect: becauſe he muſt take the Archbyſhop for his ſuperiour. For the curate, the biſhop, & archbiſhop, do gouerne the church euerye one in their degree and order. Than like as euery one of them doing their office, ſeme not to hinder one another, euẽ ſo, in that we find, the gouernment of the church cõmitted to the Apoſtles, & to thoſe that ſuccede in their roume, that which before hand is committed of God to princes, is in no wyſe taken away.

awaye.

But forasmuchas gouernment hath nede of many things, especially teachirg, and preeminence according to the sondry distribution of gifts, vnto sum god hath comitted the office of teaching, and the ministeri of sacramentes, in all one body, and to some preeminence, not to be aduersaries, but as diuers members agree in one body, so in gouernment, they should accord together, & euery on go about his owne office with chatitie. But here me think, I here som men startle, & as it were wonderous earnestly chide, bicause I had rather vse a new making of distinction, thā the olde accustomed Hum trum distinction, which as those men think doth put an hansome difference betwene the gouernements of a prince and of the church, that is, that the Prince shoulde gouerne in temporal matters, and the churche in spirituall: after the which destinction, the Prince, as the Mone, which is called the lesse light, shold haue charge of such matters, as ar of the night, but the other, which be of the spirit and

of the day light, he must reserue to the sonne alone to be discussed. For soth a blind distinctiō, & ful of darknes. For if thou leaue vnto a christian Prince, the name of a king stil, so that his dutie is not onely to be the chief ouer the people in Gods stead but also to gouern them & rule thē: First I aske what way shal a christian prince take in gouernmēt, to lead his christen people by: the waye of truth, which ledeth vnto life, or the way of lies, which hasteth to death? For ther is no mydway found. If he shal take the wai of truth, what only charge of tēporal matters, tel you me of? whan the Scripture crieth, Seke fitst the kingdome of God: as for other thinges thei must not be sought, for Gods liberalitie must geue them. Must euery man in his own priuate care, seke the kingdome of God, and must a prince in his administration, neglect it, or at least, not care for it? But this is the matter surely, because thei (good men) wer afraid, least any king shoulde waxe to holy, and in this behalfe, least he should fal vnto vertue to earnestly.

The distinction of the popes chrisme, blynde, and why not now as wel as than?

By what way a prince shoulde gouern his subiectes.

Note.

math. 6.

They dyd not so wisely inuēt that deuise, but you as fayne folow

Thei

Thei inuented a fine deuice, thinkig it a witty part, to appoint a king his office, so as he take no thought, whether his people be good or not (I mean, after the goodnes that is mete for the profession of christen men) so that thei be not notoriously cryed out vpon for abhominable impietie and wiked dedes, so as thei seme not to become more like beasts than mē: Therfor it must be the kinges charge to se that thei steal not, nor murther and that the lay folke oppresse not the good people.

the sam steppes.

But as for almaner of hordoms, or worse than hordome, & what soeuer those men do, whose title & raimēt would make a man to thinke the contrary in them, though their behaueours be neuer so far out of order, the king must let it alone & passe not on it, for those ar spiritual matters, that is to say, spiritual mens sinnes, which thei bid the king let them alone withal: as though it wer inough for him, to gouern his people in temporal affaires, & that it wer not for him to know any farther. This in dede is the most spedy way to mar al, & far

If it were than worse than whore dome, why compell ye them nowe to forsake thers wiues

Tensing prelats to much marreth all.

con-

contrary trō his office, that occupi-
eth gods roume in the earth. Is this
to fede the people? which maner of
speach the scripture vseth to kings.

Dunstone, a holy man I warant you for he could flatter the kingfair and worche him mischiefe in secrete, as it is the generall practise of all that kinde.

Nay, S. Dunstane (which was a very
holy & a right good man) somtime
archbish. of Cantorbury, did a great
deal after another sort with great re-
joycyng, interprete the charge of
a Prynce in correctyng the maners
of the church, being gladly well ap-
paied of the kinges saieng, whan he
told him, he would ioyne sword to
sword, to the intent the light disso-
lute maners of the holye kirkemen,
might be framed into the right trad
of life. By the one sword alluding to
the saieng of Paul, which the minis-
ters of the worde, exercise in prea-
ching & excōmunicating: by that o-
ther sword, shewing a supremaci ap
pointed by the lawe of God, wher-
unto as many as are the kings subie-
ctes (which is the cōgregation, that
we cal the Churche) are all bounden
throughly to obey.

For the king is cōmaunded to go-
uern the people, & the prophet war-
ning Princes of their dutie, saith to
theim

them: Now you kings, get you vnder
standing, and be learned, you that be
iudges of the land. But if we admit
these mens interpretatiō, than shold
princes haue no more vnderstanding
nor be further learned than to be ne-
cligent, almost in al things, that is to
say, thei shold not meddle with the
one half of the people, if thei serue
the Lord in name & apparel: And as
for the rest of the people thei shold
correct thē, not to refrain frō al gros
sins, but frō some. But the prophets
interpretation is another maner of
matter, which he bringeth in after-
ward, saieng: Serue the Lord in fear.
What this meaneth, we must vnder-
stand & learn it of gods owne mouth
for gods mouth speaketh plainly in
the holy scriptures: both of the olde
testament & new. Touching king Sa-
lomōs administratiō. thus doth scrip
ture report: king Salomō. according
to his fathers appointmēt. ordained
the office of the priests in their mini-
steries, & Leuites in their order, that
thei might geue thankes & minister
before the prestes after the order of
euery day, and porters in their divi-
sions gate by gate,

Princes ought to be learned in scripture.

examples of princes supremacy out of the scripture.

Salomon

Here you do heart that king Salomō toke cure also of holy or spiritual matters, not vnaduisedly, but by the appointmēt of Dauid his father: of whom God by the prophet, protesteth, that he had found a man after his own heart. So that the same history of Salomō, speaketh of this sort folowing: for so had the man of God cōmaunded, nether did thei omit any of the kinges cōmaundmentes, nether the Priests nor Leuites of all that he had commaunded.

2. Para. 18.

Iosaphat

Wherto shuld I here make rehersal of king Iosophat, his carefulnes that set vp the high iudgement seat of the pristes & Leuites housholds in Hierusalem? By what authoritie did he so, but by his regal power taking it to be his office, rather to take charge cōcerning diuine matters than humain?

Ezechias 2. par. xxix

What a bold dede had that ben of king Ezechias, euē the very first yeare, & first moneth of his reigne so to haue busied himself with the administration of diuine matters, if the discipline of his regal office (which he receiued of God) had not required

redit? that is to sai: that a king ordai
ned of god (which is the eternal spi-
rit) shold take charge of spiritual &
eternal affairs before & rather than
corporal matters, & things that shal
perish in time: This Ezechias there-
for the scripture cõmendeth so high
ly, that ther was none of al the kings
of Iuda, which obserued al the lords
precepts like vnto him. For his wil
was to seke the lord with al his hole
heart, as he did in dede, & prospered
according to the words of the scrip-
ture. ii. Para. xxviii. what did this E-
zechias, I say? Mary sir, in the very
first year & first moneth of his reign,
he did not only build vp the gates of
the Lords house again, but also ga-
ue diligence to reforme the prestes
thẽ selues, & to repair the liueli buil-
dig, that was decaied. For he not õ-
ly admonished the prists: that dwelt
together on the eastside stret of the
citi, of their negligence in their offi-
ce, but also like a mã of autoriti sai-
ed: Herken o ye leuits & prists: be ye
sanctified & make cleane the hous-
se of the Lorde the God of your fa-
thers, & put away al yncleanes from
the sanctu-

etuary. &c. I prai you what could he ſpeak more ipetiouſli? For he ſpake not as one that exhorted theim. as inferiours do, or as thoſe that be fe-low like, vſe to take in theim ſelues withal, to cauſe the cõmunication of the matter to be the more eaſely taken: which maner of talke is requiſit ſomtime in a gentle godly heart.

And if Ezechias luſted to haue ſpoken after that rate, he would not haue ſaid: be ye ſanctified, but let vs be ſanctified: not make you cleane, but let vs make clean: not put you away, but let vs put away: or if the nature of the matter had bene ſuche, that it wold not admit feloſhip, or if a priuate man ſhuld haue wiſhed or declared thoſe caſes, it had becom him nether to make himſelfe felowe like with the matter to be required to exhort thē, nor to require it by the way of commaundement. But the right good prince Ezechias, being taught of God, what his regal office. charg & adminiſtratiõ was, vſed ſuch maner of talke vnto the priſts, as ſhold declare the authoritie & power of the ſpeaker. Therfore he ſpeaketh

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in the imperatiue mode: Herken, make clean, & put away. And the prists them selues (as it appereth in the same place) did, as the king had iustly bidden them, and obeid his comaũdement.

Thus wer those kings learned, that fully & entitely applied their office bi gods autoriti amõg gods people. And these thinges will God require at princes hands a great deale more in these daies that thei should hearken, how the prophet exhorteth thẽ to lay hand vpon this maner of learning, to gouern the people by, & to serue the lord with fear & tremblig: And to cause the peple not to be such as thei list them selues to be, but a worthy & an acceptable people vnto the Lord, asmuch as in them wer possible, and so to be founde faythfull Stuardes in that day, whan they shall yelde accompt of the administration which thei toke vpon them: let them therfor heat what the wise man sayth: Sapi. the vi. Chapter:

God wyl be angrein thes dayes wyth vnlearned prynces.

howe can that be, yf gods booke be taken fro them.

Hear O ye kinges and vnderstand. marke with your eares, you that be

Sapi. 6.

rus

rulers of the multitude: for power is geuen vnto you of the Lord, and ſtrengthe from the higheſt, whych ſhal requite what your workes be. Therfore prices muſt not paſſe the time in ſlouthfulnes, negligence, & idlenes, but in continual fear, ſerue the Lord. For their dutie is, to be ſo much the more careful in the office that God hath geuen them (as one hath written) as they ſee them ſelues the more bound in yelding accompt. For it is a great talent that God hath put princes in truſt withal: that is, that they ſhould not onlie rule the people, but alſo rule thē rightly, not in ani one parte alone, but in all particularlye. And ſo to loke vnto the Lords vineyard, whiche men thinke, they haue taken in hand to kepe in good huſbandrye, that thei not oneli plucke out ſuch thynges as are noyſome, but alſo trimme it, and laie new dong to it: & to leaue no point of huſbandrye vndone, that the vyneyarde maye bring forth fruit more plenteouſli, which the good man of the houſe ſhal require in his ſeaſon,

For

For who is able to saue prynces harmeles, or beare them oute, that wher thei haue taken vpon thē selues, all the hole charge to gouerne the people bi Gods autoritie, they mai compacte afterwarde, that the greater part shal haue þ charge of the other, & thei in the mean while (as though thei had done their office gaillie wel) take their ease, and care for nothing? And wher a word was once spoken, because of the reuerence of their present vertue, and not by the truth of their authority: shal men, though it were spoken of a man so affected, vsurpe it for that end to mock out the charge of gods autority? I meane the saieng of Cōstātine: I wil not iudge you, of whō I my selfe ought to be iudged,

Constantine tha emperor which possessed the chue che with pre mocion and dignitie.

God speaketh generallye, he excepteth no man, he committeth the people vnto the prices charge, som time naughtie people to a naughty prince, if sometime good people to a good prince, than he putteth hym so much the more in trust. that men mai surely think he hath the supremacie ouer al the people. according

to the cõmaũdement of god, & not ouer one parte of the people, after the traditiõs of men, which people being knit together in one belefe of Christ, seing it is a church, what absurditie is it, that a prince which is called the heade of that people, should not be called also the head of the churche, which that people maketh? You wyl saye perchaunce, Christ onlie is the head of the churche. VVe all confesse it, or elles we could not proplie constitute a churche, but the church of malignaũtes. In dede we acknowlege that Christ is the head of the church, and that he raigneth with the father in heauen, who is our aduocate, sitting on the fathers right hand, and maketh intercessiõ for vs. But as concerning that Christ the Mediatour of God and men, both God and Man, is the heade of the churche: that churche hath none addition. For as muche as the church of England, is not the churche alone, but also the church of Fraunce, of Spaine, & of Rome, for the church is not circumscripte to any place, but whersoeuer it be

Christ the onlye heade of the church.

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In al the wyde world, euẽ amõg the Turkes, wher God hath sealed vp his owne chyldren vnto hym selfe, who (as the gospel saith) draweth al that he hath geuen power to become hys chyldren vnto. Therfore let this be out of controuersi, about the whych it were wykednesse to contende, I wyll not saye, dispute. For the auoidyng wherof, and that there remayne no cause of euyll reporte of it, ther is both to this word (heade) added in earth, and to this word (churche) is added (of England) of whych church of England, the supreme heade in earth, forasmuch as both scriptures & reasons do alow it, as a thing inexistent vnto the name of a prince & of a king. Al English people thought it mete, to haue that matter expressed in playne wordes, both the commons, and the fathers, yea and euen those that were reputed to be free from that iurisdiction (by prescription of tyme, & not by prescriptiõ of truth) for why shoulde they not consent to the truth? In dede the newnes & vnwonte noueltye of the woorde

the prescription of time is not alowed, but prescription of truth.

neither could, not ought make men any thing afrayde: For after it appeared, that the thing it ſelf, which was expreſſed bi name, was not on li true, but alſo auncient: it came of aduiſed iudgement, and not of temeritye, that ſome notable name ſhould be ſet furth, to ſturre vp the holow harres and feble iudgements of ſome men vnto the conſideracion of the truth by, and to aduertiſe the ſubiectes bi that name, that the prince is the hole prince of all the people and not of part, and that the ſame bodie of the people, growing into that condicion, to be called the churche, is not one handed, nor cut of by the ſtumpes, but that it conſiſteth perfitli hole, the ſame prince being as the heade, whoſe office is to take charge, not onli of humaine matters, but muche more of diuine matters, that is, to diſtribute fyttly vnto euery mēber of the bodi, their prop offices, that he with hys eies, with his eares, and with his mouth according to the cate whereby he hath the gouernment, by the gift of God, in miniſtring vnto the bodie.

Wherfore ſupreme heade as writen in the kynges Bile.

The office of a prynce is to take charge in diuine maters

and

and charging euerie one with their
dueti, he mai applye that maner of
office, that god shal doubtles, one
daie call for a reckening of, at the
handes of a Christian Prynce, ha-
uing the gouernment of Christian
people. Thus muche touching the
neweltye of the name. For els the
matter it self, hath both many and
right weightie examples, not thos
only, which I haue before rehersed
out of the old law, but many other
also, not comparable in dede wyth
them, whyche haue authoritie of
gods word for their warrañt in gra-
uitie & waighti importañce, how-
beit, forasmuche as they are perti-
nent to the cause, they are not to be
omitted. Then sir, who did euer di-
salow Iustinians fact: that made la- Iustinianus
wes cõcerning the glorious Triniti,
& the catholik faith, of bishops, of
men of the clergy, of heretiques, &
others such lyke? which lawes he
either made in vayn, or els he decla
red, that he had the charge of that
part of the people also, whiche ou-
ght to be of the greater puritie & of
the more holines, as he saith hiself

he had, hauing attained in this be-
half, vnto the iugemēt of the truth
out of al paduenture. How oftē do'
we read, that the cauſes of hereſie,
haue ben debated before Emperors
& princes. & diſcuſſed bi their trial?
If we wil boult out the aūcient law-
es of kings of Englād in times paſt,
how mani ſhal we finde, concernig
religion & the church, made, p̄claim-
med, & bidden to be put in execuci-
on, bi the cōmaundement & autori-
tie of thoſe kynges? Yea ſaye they,
they made ſtatutes, as defendours
of the church, & not as authours &
heads of the church. who was head
than in the meane ſpace? who had
the gouernmēt? who had the prin-
cipal charge? I wot what theyr an-
ſwer wil be: Mari Sir, the biſhop of
Rome. That ſhall we ſe hereafter.
In the meane while it muſt nedes be
graunted, that the kynges dignitye
hath ben alway aboue the chiefeſt
biſhops in England, and that vnder
the name of defendour of the chur-
ch (which title was geuen vnto kin-
ges euen of thē, that graunted leaſt)
thei did & exerciſed thoſe thinges,

albeit

albeit not in all thinges, yet in most things that represented the digniti & office of the head of the church.

How a prince is defendor of the church.

For Princes wer defendours of the church, euen as the head mayntayneth & defendeth the bodi. And as we may se it chaũce almost in euery place at this day, that some that be negligẽt in many thinges, couet the name for al that: And cõtrary wyse those princes, which haue ben such in dede & in office, that thei ought iustli to haue ben called heads, haue refrained onli, to be called heades. For thei haue made statutes bi their autoriti, & bi their own lawes. for to enquire of heresy, wherin cõsisteth the chief and principal point of office, which is yet ful & hath alwaies ben obserued euen vnto these daies

The autoriti and immunitye of bysshops geuen by princes.

But now haue thei permitted many thynges vnto the Bysshoppes and Clergye, and haue graunted them many immunities, the graunt wherof ought to be a wondrous great argument, either that Princes haue benehytherto desired in vayne to graunt that, that is another mans, which ought to pertaine nothyng

vnto them, and that thei gaue, that thei had not them ſelues, which is a plain abſurditie: or els that thei had power to exerciſe theim ſelues that thei graunted to other: & that therfore thei remitted & departed in ſo doing, with part of their own right: which being euen ſo, Princes haue bene alwaies heades, matter in dede euen than, whan thei wer called only defēders, if this be to be the head vnto the body, to beare rule ouer all the people, to cōmaund, remit, & ſōtime to bear with al the mēbers ther of aſmuche as tendeth to the vſe of al the hole body, & ſo to order & moderate euery thing, that the glory of God and the profeſſion of the faith may be aduaunced frō day to daye. But theſe men wil ſay: Princes haue aknowledged the b. of Rome, to be the head of the vniuerſal church, whi thei haue honored as ſuprem head, to him thei haue ſubmitted them ſelues, his authoritie thei haue acknowledged, reuerencing him as their father, & reioycinge that he called thē ſonnes, ſo that if we ſhould eſteme the righte by the dedes, and if it be inough

inough to teach dedes for the profe of right, so as whatsoeuer is apparauntly done, we must confesse it to be done rightly: Than doubtles the B. of Romes cause shalbe on the better hand. I would not be reputed so vayne or so impudent a man (which is the formost ende of my thought) as to cloke or to sai nai, to those thīges that haue bene done: & yet whā I shal graunt to such thinges as can not be denied, methinketh, that lyke as vertue whan it is most thrown vnder foot, & soiled with vices, yet it sheweth his efficacy by one shift or other, that we maye vnderstand it to be presently oppressed, but not vttetly extinct: euen so in the meane season, of dedes, which seme to diminish the right title, & autoritie of the Prīce, a certain light of the truth hath alwayes peped out, as it were out of most depe darknes, wherbi he that marketh it more netely & more sureli, might perceaue, that these dedes wer not hole not pfect, ne groūded vpon iust foundations, but had a greater appearaūce of truth, than true in dede, & tokens of honour, rathet

wynchester not impudent, no euil loth.

why do you nowe call it new leruing than.

ther borowed than paid: For if that opinion had euer sonke into princes heartes, that the Bis. of Rome had bene Christes Vicar on earth, that is the heade ordained of God to be ouer al, vnto whō al thinges should bowe, all thinges should obey, with out whom, nothing must be rekened holy nor sacred, whose blessig should alwaies geue prosperiti, whose curse aduersitie, or if the bishops of Rome wer persuaded, that it were so: the bishops of Rome them selues woulde not haue practiced straunge artes, and carnall fetches, rather than strong testimony of Gods truth. If thei coulde yet to this day haue brought out any such in the defense of their autoritie: nether durst the princes haue bene so bold, eueri one in his time, as to nippe awai the same authoritie, which thei semed to graunt in wordes and teatmes of speache after that fashion in their procedings & doings, not in corners but openly in the face of the world. I speak of such princes, whose excellent religious deuotiō, the world nowe after their deathes, reueren-

[illegible] B. of [illegible] wer Chri[illegible] vicar, he woulde not haue practy ted inglyng.

ceth

eeth and worshippeth: and rekneth thē among the nomber of saintes.

Verely if our elders had beleued, that God had cōmitted the charge of al the the hole world, vnto the b. of Rome, what wilful boldnes caused them, to make so many statutes, against, and contrary to that charge and power aduaūcing it self, vnder that pretense? And as thei woulde haue done many other thinges, yet thei durst neuer haue bene so bolde to do, that thei did, to haue purposed to blindfeld him, from loking about him, and to stop his eies, whō thei estemed for a watchman set of God, in the higher place to se.

I thinke, it was mete to mislike so great a diligence in Goddes Vicar, for that he beyng burthened with the cure and charge of al churches, least the people should want shepheardes, made prouision with .iii. sortes of vnder shepheardes.

Against the superiour. or against him, it is not lauful to make ani law. For inferiours prescribe not lawes to the superiours. neither doo they laufully make penalties against their

go

gouernment, how wiked, or intolerable soeuer it be. Therefore our elders and princes, that wer befor tyme, when thei assembled together to counsail vpō matters of the common weal, taking deliberate aduisement in their open counsailes, haue by statutes & lawes, determinately thought it mete, to put out that quik sight in the B. of Romes eyes, that it should not serue them to loke ouer, so far as vnto vs: yea, those Princes seme that thei knew their own right authoritie, & that thei wer not al ignoraunt of the original beginning & nature of the Bis. of Romes power. And yet the bishops of rome thought good to alowe both their iudgements & doinges, in that behalfe, so muche, that thei haue not onely, not foūd fault with those prīces, which both made such statutes & kept thē, but also dissembling the foile that thei had taken, cōmēded those princes for their fideliti and obedience.

A wily foxes.

you are a whelp of the same heare,

Yea mary sir, the bishops of Rome wer circumspect, & the more wittie men in their generation, folowing in this case the example of subtile mar

chaū

chaũts, that of an vnthriftie bargain when thei haue scant halfe, yet thei hold theim content, reconing it all won that thei had, because of right thei could haue claimed nothing. As for our elders, when thei perceiued the Bis. of Romes authoritie by hys fruites, & iudged him not to be gods Vicare, thei thought that pickpurse autoritie must be borne withall, and not clean cast out (for so reason permitted at that tyme) but their expres dedes do most manifestlye declare, that thei were of the same iudgemẽt that we are of.

Neuertheles, as euery mans heart serueth him, so doth he either claim his own, & vseth it like a stout hearted man, or elles being content with the cõmoditi that is offred him, letteth the rest alone & taketh no thought. And seing the mater standeth euen so, ther is no reasõ, whi the rest of the doinges shoulde trouble theim, how contrary in outward apperaũce soeuer thei seme, bi the whiche thei could wipe awai nothing from gods lawe, or diminish the power therof, through temeritie or by negligence.

The neeglygence and temeritye of princes putteth not awai the autoritie that god geueth them

Let

errours of mysdoynge hurteth not the truth of thynges.

Let men cal the bishops of Rome fathers, let them call them heades, let them aduaũce them, with what names thei lust, yet the truth of thinges, is not impeached by errours of things misdon. The church of Rome, was in the old time, ether by reson of outward holines or by mightie power, not onely of great fame, but also of high authoritie. when I speak of authoritie, I folow Tullies meaning, who in the weighti importaũce of witnes bearing, attributeth authoritie vnto suche as be wittie & welthy men, bicause of the commõ peoples iudgemẽt, though it be not alwaies a righte, as he saith, yet bicause it is not easely altred. For els the authoritie, that the B. of Rome should be thought to haue bi gods lawe, is none authoritie with vs in dede, lyke as no maner of foraine Bishop also hath authoritie among vs. Nether let it, in this case be preiudiciall vnto the truth, that men haue done heretofore in sõdry coũsails, to florish out the matter with al: that is to say, ether seruing their owne turne, or geuinge place to the time

Than counsels mai erre

time, ot elles blinded through ignoraunce. Let the truth of Gods word haue the victory nowe: whiche if it geue no more authoritie vnto these bishops of Rome, than to all other bishops, that is, to feede & bring vp the people, within their dioceſe cõmitted to their ſpritual charge, with the miniſtration of the word of god & of his ſacramentes, Let not tyme preſcribe againſt gods truth, nether let it be iudged, that the Princes or the people were blinded with ignoraunce, circumuented with ſubtilti, or gredye of gaines, either iuduced through any other reſpect, to do, that thei nether ought nor could poſſibly by any meanes haue done.

Tyme may not preſcribe agayn truthe.

Becauſe men haue vſed to aſke the biſhoppe of Rome counſaill in gouerning the Church, is it not lauful therfor to do any thing without his counſaile? And becauſe Princes haue ſuffred their ſubiectes to aſke his counſail, did thei by that meanes geue ouer their owne authoritie which becauſe it is committed vnto theim by GOD, it is not lawfull for them to put away.

princes may not putte away their ſupremacie, for it is geuen them of god

Let

Let the matters that haue in tymes paſt ben made a mingle mangle, be called agayne to the true ſquare of Gods word: let the groūdes of both the powers be wayed, & lyke as we haue bi teſtimonie of Gods word ſhewed before, that a princes myghtie power is not gotten by flatterie, or by priuiledge of the people, but geuen of god: let vs alſo cōſider whether the ſelf ſame God hath geuen any power to the biſhop of rome, that ought to hinder the ſupreme power of princes, and in this matter let vs be ſhort in ſearchyng vp the ſcryptures of the old teſtament, wherein we haue as wel touched ſomewhat already, as alſo it is moſt manifeſt in many other places, that the preſtes were in ſubiection to the high princes. Dyd not Aaron take Moſes for his ſouereigne lord? which is the maner of ſpeche of him that aknowledgeth ſuperior autoriti. Did not Achimelech the hyghe preſte vſe the ſame word of ſubiection, when he ſpake to Saul the king of Iſrael? Dyd not Salomon put Abiathar the hie preſt to death?

Let the matters amiſs be called home again to the line of gods word.

crambles that preſtes were ſubiect to princes.

Exodi. 32.

1. Reg. 22.

3. reg. 2.

to death? what did king Alexander (as it apereth in the boke of Macha bes) write to Ionatha, saieng: Now haue we this daye ordeined the to be the high prest ouer thy people, Do not these saienges, sufficiently declare, that the power of princes, is aboue euen the highest prestes of al? I speake nothing, that Demetri us gaue vnto Simō the office of the hyghe prest, and so to others after him. I passe also ouer manye other mo: for the multitude of examples of Gods law doth not so stronglie confirme as shew the truth. 1. macha. 10. 1. macha. 14.

For this is the difference betwen Gods law & mans. Gods law is cō stannt, but mans law is euer subiecte vnto vanitie, & so vnto varietie. In gods law therfore, it is alwaies true that is once set out by example for truth, as to proue the supreme po wer & autotiti of princes, the exam ple of Ezechias alone, which is re gestred in gods boke, & cōmended vnto vs, might iustly haue sufficed, It remaineth than, that the bishop of Rome, must either bring out the tables of the new testament, or non. Gods lawe constannt. mans layne and variable

But firſt to ſpeake vniuerſallye of the new law, how can any ſillable in Chriſtes wordes, helpe his auoritie ſeing the ſelfe ſame Chriſt, doth ſo openlie proteſt both in wordes and dedes that he ſought not a earthlie kingdom, nor wold claime ani ſuch kynde of kyngdome, but (the eſtate of orders remaining ſtil) he ſet forth and taught the fourme of heauenly conuerſacion, & the iuſt gouernaūce of the inward minde, through the grace of God, which he bi his open doinges moſt plainelye declared to cōſiſt, not in high ruſling eſtate, nor in ruling the roſt, but contrari wiſe, in humilitie & contempt of worldly thinges, when he ſuffered the moſt bitter & cruel kind of death for our ſakes. And the poynres of offyce, of hym that is Chriſtes Vicar, if he wyll do his office faythfullye, are not to beare rule, but to be in ſubiection, not to cōmaund princes, but to acknowledge himſelfe to be vnder their power & cōmaundement, not onelye whan they commaunde thinges indifferent, and eaſye to be done, but alſo whan they cōmaūd thynges

Chriſt altered not the ſtate of orders.

The offyce of hym that occupyeth Chriſtes roume, is not to be a bone prynce.

thinges not indifferent, so they be not wicked: in checkes, in scorgings and beatinges vnto death, yea, euen to the death of the crosse.

Indede, these are Christes fote steppes, and this is the maiestye of rule bearing in Christ: This I say is the true power of Christe, vnto vs both wonderous and exceding holsome: by the whiche also is power geuen to vs to become the children of god. This he taught & expressed in his doings, touching the kingdõe of Israel: his dreaming disciples he alwaies rebuked, but he neuer hindred Cesars tribute, nor anie mans autoritie, one iote bi his dedes: and seing it is so, I wene I haue made it manyfest, if we consyder Christes dedes, which mai not be altred nor doutfully interpreted, we shal find plainly, that al is cleane contrarye, that the b. of Rome chalengeth to himself as Christes vicar. This therfore only remaineth, that he flie to the words of the euangelists, which (how soeuer men haue varied in the interpretacion) al men know well inoughe, how they stand in the text.

But what loketh he for in thé? man Sir this, whether Christ, the waye, the truth, & the life, spake euer any thing, wherin he should disagre frō his own dedes: that wher he neuer sought autoriti amōg men, he gaue it notwithstandig to the bishop of Rome, to vse as his Vycar. This in dede is the sum of the question, in words (as it is propoūded) blasphemous and wiked, but yet it painteth out the mater, that I haue in hand. For wher in al other maters, as the euangelist reporteth, Iesus began to do & to teach, that he did, & in this one onli mater, which we now treat of, if he taught anye whyt of that, which the b. of Rome claymeth at this day to hiself by Christes title, that is, to be aboue princes, bi Christes words: we must nedes confesse that Christ taught in wordes, that, wherof he not onli shewed no example in himself, but shewed clean cōtrari in al the hole course of hys life before. Let this therfor remain stil in the cause, that Christes dedes stand on our side, which mai not be wrested bi ani mans interpretacion:

only

only the queſtiō is in Chriſtes wor-
des, which now & than, mans inter-
pretaciō is ſo ſauci as to blemiſh, al
be it, he that ſhal ſtand with the b.
of Rome in this cauſe, might firſt of
al, ſticke faſt in this point: that ther
is not foūd in the holi ſcriptures, ſo
much as one ſillable of the byſhop
of Rome, ſo that what interpretaci
on of Chriſtes words ſoeuer he wil
ſtand to, he myght ſeme to loſe hys
acciō, as thei ſai. what is the cōſe-
quent than? Chriſt wold haue Peter
to be aboue princes, as it appeareth
the b. of Rome wold. Ergo he wold
haue the b. of rome to be ſo to. whi?
becauſe he is Peters ſucceſſor? I ſai
no more, but I would he were. And
then, in that caſe, I dout not, but he
ſhuld be aboue al mē, though not in
hault eſtate of worldlie power (as
out of dout he hath non ſuch) yet in
admiration & reuerence of inwarde
vertue: & in that point, Chriſt wold
haue thoſe that his be, to excel & be
ring leaders euen aboue Emperors:
as thoſe, vnto whō, being his Em-
baſſadours, he gaue the keies of the
kingdōe of heauen: & among them,

vnto Peter, which in al their names, had ſpoken ſo holſom a confeſſiō, to acknowledge Ieſus to be the ſon of the liuing god, which cōfeſſion, like as fleſh & bloud had not reueled, euen ſo was ther no prerogatiue geuen vnto fleſh & bloud in Peter, what ſoeuer was geuen, but to the chiefer part, which was the ſpirite, to thentent, that being endued the more plenteouſly, with the grace of god, he ſhould be the ring leader in vertue & might of the word of god, & in the power of ruling affections.

If we ſhould ſo interpret Chriſtes words, as if thei mēt ſome outward power in rule bearing, which all other folkes ſhuld acknowledge thē ſelues to be vnder, yea euen princes to, albeit, the ſelfe ſame God, hath ſet them in the ſuperiour roume, ſo that nothing els could be alledged, howe could that ſentence of Chriſt ſtand together: The diſciple is not greater thē his maſter: nameli, if the diſciple wold not be cōtent to be in ſubiectiō, as Chriſt was, but execute the ſupreme power himſelf which his lord wold neuer take vpon him.

In

In scriptures, there is no mencion made of Peters supremaci, & Eusebius in ecclesiastica historia, reporteth, that Clemens in sexto li. dispositionum, affirmed that Peter, Iohn & Iames, after the ascension of our sauiour, although he had set the almost aboue al the Apostles, yet they toke not the glori of supremaci vpō them, but that Iames, which is called Iustus, was ordained the bishop of the Apostles. Notwithstandyng for the autorities sake of them, whi che haue not misliked the word of supremacie, I do not so muche refuse the word self, but I flee to the interpretacion of the word, that it maye agree with the ryght proper meaning of the Gospell, expressed in Christes dedes. Admit that Peter were chief, admit he had the supremaci of Christ, what of that? was a kingdom, lordship, or preeminence geuen him with the supremaci? Because he was bidden to confirm his brethren in faith, was it geuen hym to beare rule ouer his brethren therfore? Christes humble estate, knewe no such kinde of speche, nor mater.

James Bysshop of the Apostles.

For though Christ (as touchinge his godlihead) was equall to the father, with whom he was in the begining, & al things, which he created, spake of did, he was al wais, together with the holy ghost, the indiuisible worker (one substance of thre persons in diuinitie) although I say, according to this maiestie, he hath al wais had al power, to subdue al thinges vnto himself: he was a liue, he is a liue, & he shall liue: he hath raigned, he raigneth and he shal raigne GOD for euermore: yet for his exceading marcy towards mankinde, he made himself of no reputation, taking the fourm of a seruaunt, being in apparel found as a man, & a very oppro-bry, as the prophet saith: to make it plain & open, that those things which wer highly estemed with men, as Empires, dominions, and high authorities, being as it were stops and impediments to the attaining of eternal felicitie, are rather to be cast away & contemned, than to be gredely sought for, & ambitiously coueted, yea, thei ar not to be receiued though thei offer theim selues, but

vnder this condicio, that we receiue them, as matter offred of GOD, to trauail in, for the exercise of godlines sake, euery one in his vocation, whiche the greatenit is, and the mo things it is tangled withal, the harder it wil be to do it so wel, as euery one would be glad and faine to do, that faithfully contendeth to come to the coūtry that euer shal indure.

Medlyng with manye offices maketh a preacher. Looke to your selfe therefore.

So that we must vnderstand, that Christ ment neuer a word of supremacy of worldly administration, but he appointed his souldiours, whom he furnished to encounter (as it were in the vaward) against the continual frauds, perpetual battail & warres of the world, the flesh and the deuil, to be forwardest, and as it were the ensigne bearours, in the very formost ranke, whom he knew to be of better courage in faith, to breake the more daungerous ray of the enemies, bicause thei were not tangled nor letted with any charge of worldly matters, & might bi their example of constancy, encourage, allure, & prouoke other of the weaker sorte, to become souldiours of that band al-

What souldiours preachers shulde be.

also. In whiche kinde of warfare, though Christ making choise of his own, gaue the vppermost ſtiding to Peter, it was no meruel: ſeig he had ſo armed him, that he knew before hand, though he would geue backe from the enemy, perhaps for a time yet he would not geue it ouer ſo, but to it agayne ſtoutlye, and fight like a tall felowe for the defence of the truth. Ha, was Peter the chief than? No man ſayth nay. For he cõfeſſed Christ to be the very ſonne of the liuing God firſt. And Peter was of as conſtant & ſtedfaſt minde in defending of the ſame truth at all times, as any man was. He was the firſt after Christ, that taught the Iewes, & in the aſſeble of the apoſtles, when one ſhould nedes ſpeake in all their names. Peter ſomtime as the matter required, was cheife in the tale telling. Therfore I will not ſay nay to the argument, which thei cal: Argumentum a coniugatis, but that ſaint Peter, being by ſo manye waies and reaſons. the firſt, might alſo be thought to be the chief amonge the apoſtles. For like as a wiſeman hath

wherein Peter was chef of the Apoſtles.

wiſe

wisdom, in that he is a wiseman, so hath the chief man the chief place, or supremacy.

What than? He that is cheise of al the Phisicians, hath not he also the supremacy among phisicians? For why should he not? Amõg Painters also, if ther were any in these daies, as conning as Appelles or Pirrhasius was, & wer called therfore the head painter, would we not say, that he had the supremaci among painters? yes doubtles. In vniuersities again, if it were agreed by al mens concentes, that Lutetia of Parrise, as being a vniuersitie most plente of ly furnished and occupied with great learned men, should be called the head Vniuersitie of the world, might not the name of supremacy be fit for it, being chif amõg other vniuersities?

But let vs come nerer to the matter. If a man whã he had set one mã to gouern the hole houshold, whein in asmuch as he had a great sorte of yong men, whom he would faine haue taught & instructed in good artes, & wold prouide many scolemasters and

and among other, ther was one man excellently well learned aboue the reſt, whom as a notable man among other, he would cal the cheif of al the ſcole maſters that he had gottē, & to whoſe inſtruction he would cōmit thoſe that he ſetteth moſt by: hath not he, ſeing he is chief ſchol-maſter, the ſupremacy? yes, for the chief perſon cannot choſe, but haue the chief rule in ani matter. For theſe two words, primus, which is firſt principal, cheif or ſupreme, and primatus, which is chief e rule, preeminence, and is here tightly engliſhed ſupremacy, or Coniugata, that is to ſay: linked together, the one depending of the other, not only in ſpech but alſo in matter: neuertheleſſe this queſtion maye be aſked, he, of whom I ſpake, the cheif ſcholemaſter in this houſhold, if ther ſhould fal ani cōtrouerſi, touchig maners or order, whether of their authorities ſhould be eſtemed aboue other, his, vnto whō the houſhold was cōmitted, or hys, that is called to inſtruct the youth, he that is called the chef, as I ſaid, & therfore he hath the ſu-

primus and primatus.

pre-

macy: who doubteth, but his rowme is the greater, that hath charge of the houſhold? why ſo? For it ſtandeth mooſt with reaſon, becauſe order is ſomtime chaunged by relation: & that whiche in one relation is ſupreme and cheife, in another or in a contrary relation, hath ſomtime an inferiour place, & oftentimes the loweſt place of all. And ſo God the ſonne, is equal with the father after his diuinitie, but he is leſſe then the father, after his humaniti. Alſo god the ſonne, in that he is God, is in the beginning, & is the beginning it ſelf: but in that he is the ſone of God, he is the ſecond perſon in nomber: albeit without al cõſideration of time he is without beginning as God the father is. But to ſet examples out of inferiour matters: Do we not ſe all one man vſe diuers offices at home, like Arithmatical figures, now to occupy the cheif & firſt roum, than the ſecond, afterward the third, & ſomtima lower roum, as the cauſe wherin he is occupied, and place, where compani meteth, do require? Do we not ſe him that ſitteth higheſt among

mong iudges, & for that cause is called the chief iudge, when he is required to bee present in extraordinary iudgements (as it is often sene) placed after others in the third or.iiii. roume? But in deuine offices I pray you, howe great a supremacy, as I may so cal it, hath the chaplen ouer his master, while he is in diuine ministratiō? And yet when he is out of the place, & cast of his gear, he leaueth his supremacy behid him. And it is no marueil, for in this case the matter stādeth so, that who so mindeth to retain the name of the cheif person & cheife office still must not swarue from the thing, wherūto the name was aplied and set to. Therfore to returne vnto examples.

Admit there were a famous chief Phisician, that is to say: were as cōning in Phisike as any man, and so because the matter so requireth it, he kepeth still his preeminence. Yea sir. but while he medleth with Phisick: But forasmuch as there is another maner of office in the administration of the cōmon weall. let him be content also with his secōd for-

me

re, and ſtriue not to bear rule ouer o
ther bicauſe he is the cheſ Phiſicia;
nether let him take authoritie vpon
him to be a commaunder of the reſt
of the Phiſicians, whiche is not ge-
uen him in his preeminence, not by-
cauſe he could not geue it him, whi-
ch ſo preferred him, but becauſe it
was not his pleaſure to geue it him,
for it was no reaſon whi he ſhould:
or elles (which is the foreſt thing to
ſpeak of al) whi he did not. Mari ſit
bicauſe he made him not abſolutly
cheif, but he called him the cheife
Phiſician. Admit alſo a curious cō-
ning painter, to be the cheif painter
let him ſtriue alſo to continue ſtil in
his chief paintourſhip, leaſt another
paſſe him in conning, & ſo haue the
name of the cheif painter from him
bicauſe he is more worthy than he.
Let the vniuerſitie of Parriſe reioy-
ce, not ſo much of the honour of the
name, as to ſtudye to make it good,
that is attributed bi the name. Final
ly, let this ſcole maſter, which is cal-
led to teache Children, bicauſe the
good man of the houſe thought not
the perſon of the mā, but the vertue
hid

hidden vnder the person, worthye the honour of chief schole maister, remember & remember again, that he is not honoured but burthened with that name, & let him studi rather according to the intent of the name, to shew him self chief in the offyce of teachyng, than to abuse the vain title of a name, & as thoughe he were chief absolutely without condiciō, yet neglecting his office, & so losing his supremacie, to contend & striue about the name & terme of it, with them, that as being set in autoritie to gouerne the household, haue the true & absolute supremacie in deede: and to myngle gods matters, and the worldes maters together, so that he may ouercome bi right or by wrong, & haue it as him lusteth: as for his function & office, he taketh no more thought for, but is holy bent in that, as it appeareth now for a great while, that the bishoppes of Rome haue done, which not regarding those things, that were added vnto Peters supremacie, & accōplishing the name of supremaci being anexed vnto some

cer-

certaine poyntes of office, as they accomplish all things, they haue pounded the bare name vnto the world, that thei might be taken for chiefe, yea, & chiefer then the chiefest: not remembryng in the meane time, how in al other maters, thei ar inferiours to the lowest that is.

Here I do not cõpare the faultes of men with the cõdiciõ of the cause, wherin I might haue verie large mater to speake: I know thei ar not alwaies good men, that beare the swinge, & yet the naughtines of the man doth not hinder his autoritye. I know thys also, that We haue all sinned, and nede the grace of God. ye say that by your self.

But as concerning, that which is annexed vnto the cause, can not be kept in silence, least anye man cast this saieng of Paul in my dish, that in the same I preach to others, I my selfe be found to blame. For howe great lacke I finde in mi self, in mine own office doing, mine own cõsciẽce knoweth. But who is it that shal be found a faithful steward? as Paul saieth, who also in the same place speaketh further: iudge not before

the time come. Therfore wyll not I wade in this matter, ani broder not further, thꝰ cause requireth, that is, as modestly as I can with the truth, to refell him, that calleth himselfe chief vntruly, & to wish him this at least, if nothing els, that he may be chief in those titles wherin he ought to be chief, that he might worthely be called the chief, & wherin Peter was bi whō he claymeth the supremacie to himselfe, as bi succession. wherfore let him now excel others, in cōfessing Christ, & let him so far be worthelie taken for chief among al men, euē bi the law of god: which if Boniface had perceued, he neded not to haue gotten that, by priuiledge of Phocas Themperour, as it had bene bi begging, which by the assistaūce of gods grace, he myght haue won to him selfe, bi himselfe. Moreouer, lette the B. of Rome be chief in teaching & preachig Christ & so long let him haue the supremacie of that kind of office. But what a foly wer it, whan many ar rūnyng in a race, that some one shuld wyn bi his ambicious importunity, much

fauour

fauour of the lokers on, wher he, be
ing appoynted in dede to runne a-
mong others, when he is nowe ey-
ther made lame through his owne
fault, or otherwise vnmete to run:
yet it shalbe reported, that he ouer
ran them al, & came first of al to the
pricke, wheras, sauing that he came
out in apparel made to run withal,
he sitteth him down among the lo-
kers on, and shapeth idle a cote: as
for any other consideration of hys
requestes, he allegeth none, but that
he was borne & bred of thē (on gods
name) wherin tymes past, were the
best runnets, & were therfore called
the chief. A goodli reason forsoth,
and worthie of him, that is ioyous
of vain and false titles, and conten-
teth himself, to be flattered aboue
measure. But like as a sure frinde, if
he had any, wold not onlye wyshe
him a better minde, but also would
turne him, if he might by right ad-
monition, from that foolysh desire
of priuilege, and tel him, what a ve-
ry foly it is for a man to haue a mind
to be called & named that in wor-
des, whych he is not in verye dede:

euē so wold I also wish vnto the bishops of Rome, whō it is manifest, haue ben in like sort affected (I wyl not ouer shote mi words) & yet styl at this present (as I heare) surceasse not their old cancred mind that thei wer coūcelled of some body, not to contende to be called supremes, as long as thei are still postremes: But if their delite were to be so called, thei shuld se bi what things that title was gotten, & bi what thinges, it was properly attributed. For like as in a wel ordred citie, those that are chief in riches, ar not therfore chief in autoriti: euen so in Christes churche, thei ar not put in autoriti aboue other, that excede other in pompe, lordly estate & riches. And therfore if the supremacie of the churche of Rome in tymes past, with great cōsent of the world, stoode in the office of preaching Gods word, if in the cure & charge of aduauncing of Christes name, if in promt valeaūtnes of minde, to defend the truth, & to kepe the faith of Christ frō heresies, as it is most plain that in those daies it did, when the bishoppes of Rome,

You are the more hys' frend.

No more doys.

No he bringeth in heresyes, and so do you wyth your pestylent masses and suche other.

Rome, yea almonst none but thei, at the furst beginning of the spring of the church, wer diligent to heale the furour of tyrauntes raging, against christen people: I wene ther is neuer a christen prince in the world at this dai, but if he saw the b. of Rome, cō tend about that supremaci faithfully, that thei might godli & zelousli passe all other bishoppes (that the churche of Christe, wher soeuer it is scatred, hath) in godlines, in fayth, & religious deuociō: & wold stryue to go so far before, that in this race thei might be worthelie called the first: if the princes, I saie, might see this in thē, thei wold with good wil cal thē bi those true names that thei saw with their eies, & him that thei spied to be first, thei wold cal chief, in that matche game: & in that kind of supremacie, thei wold reuerence him with due honour, according to his vertue: And with this opiniō, it semeth our elders wer induced (which opiniō also dured vnto our time) that thei wold geue the bishops of Rome wages, for their paines, whiche called thē selues the seruaūts of

gods seruaũtes, not only in name, as they do nowe, but matter in dede in those daies. How beit the name of a seruaunt signifieth a seruice. For a seruaũt cõmaũdeth not his labours to be set out, but he setteth them a sale, as it were in an open place, to prouoke some bodye to hire hym, wherein not wythstandyng, some make such a shew of their labours, in cõmending their diligence & fydelitie, and make them so salekene, that thei cause mani to be desirous of them, & bring them in that mind, that when their busines might both better and more spedely be dispatched at home, yet thei thincke nothing can be comelye or wel done wythout their counsaile.

Looke how hypocrycye canne beytle men of symple wyttes.

And forasmuch as we se that daily chaunce in sõdry kindes of crafts men, & in eueri trifeling matter, it is no meruel, though it be so in religiõ wherin al men wish, that al thinges were ordred, according to the most perfit example, wherin for all that, mani men partli distrust their owne wittes, partli vse corrupt wyttes, in that thei esteme straũge ware, more

then

then domestical stuffe, no mã ought I sai, to think it ani maruell, though the glorious name of the church of Rome, being at that time famous in excellent vertue, drawing & aluring almost al the partes of the worldc, into admiration of it (for vertues sake, which is the most sure bonde) knit al mẽ to it, & caused that churche, whõ al men might se so notabli vertuous, to be reuerenced, as the chief & principal church among other, & godli men beautified it also wyth those names, whych the Romish bishops make boast of to the world, as though thei wer set furth bi oracle frõ god, to defend the supremaci withal, not the supremacie of vertue, but the supremaci of power, & that an earthlye, an externe and a fleshlye power, such a one as Christ neuer exetcised, nor committed it at any tyme to any man to exercyse, as farre as we maye gather out of the holye Scriptures, where out notwythstandyng, seing some men haue picked out some thinges, wherwyth they woulde confyrme it to be cõmaunded & ordained of

Christ, whervnto the people and the Princes would euen of their voluntary wil (bicause of the great vertue wherwith thei wer alured, as it had bene men drawne vp with an Adamant stone) haue graunted thē, that is, that thei would not only honour & reuerence that Church of Rome, & the bishop therof, but also aduaunce them with those titles, which godly affection, is wont to deuise & vtter, wherin good men do somtime erre, yet forasmuch, as bicause many men haue setfurth many bookes touching this matter, & bi reason of mutial cōflict of men reasoning with it and against it, it is more then manifest, that those places of the holy scripture, are wrested frō their true and proper meaning, to defend that authoritie: I thought it not mete, to do that is done alredy, & in making rehersal of them, to make men think I had geuen them a pigge of another mans sowe: wherin the meane space, least I should seme to cast away al mens writinges, I do not so much contend obout the supremacy, so thei rack it out no further, thā

it

ſtappeareth to be ment from the beginning.

But this I vttetly deny, that God ordained the biſ. of Rome, to be the chief, as touchig ani abſolute worldly power: of this is the queſtion, in this point the hole cauſe conſiſteth

In this matter I wene I haue made it plain inough, that Chriſtes dedes ſtand on our ſide, & that the name of ſupremaci vſurped of our elders, maketh nothing againſt vs: & that the title hauing a righte interpretation ioined vnto the power which the b. of Rome claimeth now to himſelfe maketh nothing for his purpoſe. And moreouer, that the prerogatiues, whiche GOD gaue vnto Peter, crouning his owne gifts in him, help the b. of Romes cauſe, nothing at al which prerogatiues wer not geuen vnto fleſhe & bloud, but to be a teſtimony of that excellent profeſſiō of hys faith: and ſuch would to god (whoſe liberal goodnes doth neuer waſte) he woulde geue yet ſtill vnto theſe biſhops of Rome, if thei folowed the example of Peters faith.

But if the biſhops of Rome go aboute

bout to kepe in ſtate ſtil, and hold vp the decaied partes of their power, (whoſe building was naughte, and therfore hath wried on the one ſide long ago) with props and ſtaies, deuiſed by mans brain, rather then to let it ſhrink down to that ſtate, that the truth were hable to defend and bear out: wel, beware leſt thei catch a ſoter fal, I wil geſſe no ſoreta thig Only let theim conſider, that at the leth truth hath the victory in al mat

The light of the Goſpell cam in when the b. of ro. was dryuen out. Mar. 2.

ters, & that the light of the goſpel, is now com in place of darknes: and that the light reproueth the thinges that are not allowable. All men ſe what theſe wordes of the Goſple mean: Thou arte Peter, & vpon this rock wil I build my Church. Men perceaue the miſteries, both of Chriſtes thre times aſking of Peter, of Peters thriſe denyng, and of the payeng of tribute mony for him. It is vnderſtanden at this preſent, what it is to be the chief of the Apoſtles: & what it is to feede the ſhepe, whom God geueth charge of, this geare almoſt euery body hath in their mouthes: yea, ſom cry out, that thei haue ben

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iuggled withall and deceiued. And (as their nature and diſpoſicion is) ſom ſpeakleſſe and more temperatly then ſome, and ſom there be alſo, which perceiuing thei haue bene ſo long falſely begiled, as much as thei can, refraine and ſay neuer a worde for ſhame.

Wel, al ſortes of people are agreed vpon this point, with moſt ſteadfaſt conſent, learned and vnlerned, both men & weimen, that no maner perſone borne and brought vp in England, hath ought to do with Rome. Al maner of people receiuing & embracing the truth, do with one whol conſet, acknoledge, honour and reuerence the Kinge for the ſupreme head of the churche vpon earth.

Then as many as receiue the truth, haue nothynge to doo wyth the B. of Rome

Thei bid the biſhop of Rome far well, whoſe laboure, howeſoeuer it hath bene receiued in times paſt, euen ſo now as vnprofitable and diſcommodius, thei haue no more deuotion to it, as a thing wherin a man ſhold haue no deuotion, but to turn ſuche a chaplayne out of the dores, (wyll he, nill he,) as beinge hired or praied to miniſter diuine Seruyce,

hath

hath not ſhewed himſelf faithfull and diligent in his office, vnto them that he ſhould haue loked to haue receiued his wages of, for his paines taken. For a man had rather haue a faithfull ſeruaunt to miniſter in dede in whoſe name the true token of doing (which is the right vſe of callig) may appear: than inſteade of a ſeruaunt to haue one that taketh vpon him, to be lorde of lordes in his doings, though in the meane ſpace he calleth himſelf ſeruaunt of ſeruaũts

And yet al men for Chriſtian charities ſake, ꝓtai for him, & wiſh him wel, among whom I am one ſpecially: that Paul, that now is, may ſo excel the reſt of his predeceſſours in S. Paules giftes, that like as S. Paul hath comprehended all the miſteries of our Religion in one onli Epiſtle to the Romaines: ſo this Paule mai now write from Rome, to them that be vnder his obedience, ſuche things as tend to the true glorye of Chriſt, and concerne the aduauncemět of faith, rather than ſuch ware, as hath crept into the world, theſe yeres paſt, frõ theſe high courtes of

ce-

record & ſtore houſes. To be ſhort, God ſend him good life, and wel to fare in the Lord.

But I will retutne to my purpoſe that is, that I might moue al men to obedience, which onely in the commaundements of God, & for Gods ſake, maketh vs happy and bleſſed. And the commaundements of God are clear, & lighten our eies, that we ſtomble not in darknes. Thei are righteous, thei are honeſt. thei are alſo not only profitable alwais to the life both of ſoule & bodye, but alſo neceſſarye, & not ſore or hard to be obſerued. For thei haue a reſpecte vnto the yoke, that thei detain and kepe ſtill in laboure, yea, but with a ſwetenes, thei are a burthen, but yet a light one. For it commeth to paſſe by the grace of God, which is made by Ieſus Chriſt. that thinges impoſſible vnto the fleſhe, are accompliſhed by the ſpirit with chearfulnes by loue that is proued in our heartes by the holy ghoſt, which is geuen vs, & ſeing we are now renewed in the ſpirit of our mindes, & become ſpiritual, we may ſay with S. Paul

Gods word pure. Then truthe maketh not men heretiques, but keepeth them fro heresies

Paul: we are hable to do all thinges in him that strēgthneth vs, that is to say: Christ. There is no cause than, to make vs a fraid of the waighti importaunce of the thing, which thorow the benefit of Christ, bi meanes of his mooſt precious and glorious death, is made mooſt easy, to theim which aknoledging their weakenes of fleſhe, commit them ſelues wholy to Gods truſt through obedience with a ſure confidence in God. Let vs therfore make vs redi to obei god in his precepts, which, as thei be not heard, ſo thei are not many in nomber He that loueth his brother (ſaieth Paule) hath fulfilled the lawe. what can be ſpoken more briefly. or knit vp in leſſe roum? And bicauſe this word (loue) hath an interpretation, we muſt nedes afore al thinges follow that interpretation, whiche is ſet furth in ſcriptures, by him that made the law and publiſhed it.

Let vs then folowe the order that God hath preſcribed, and not go about with our interpretation, to cōfound and peruert the members of his body the church, which he hath

ſet

set in order, and disposed in perticulers, accordingly: that in the church one should teach, and another bear rule, which is attributed vnto Princes: yea and forsaking & neglecting those things which ether mens wisdom or subtil brain hath inuented, let vs folowe the truth it selfe, let vs obey it, let vs do after it, which only maketh true obedience.

now ye cote pell men to forsake it.

And here I coulde haue made an end of my tale, had not some folkes folysh words bene, that had almost pulled me doune backward, and enforced me to render accompt of my selfe, what caused me to be so hardy as to write one word concerning any maner of obediēce, namely true obedience, seing I neuertheles enterprising to teach obedience, disclose mine owne disobedience, and geue the onset against his power & autoritie, for whose defence, I was called once to be a patron, & bounden by my oth to defend and maintaine his authoritie to my possible power. Wher is the kepyng of othes become, say thei? wher is fidelitie? what may a man beleue now a daies? who

whom may a man truſt? For he was made a biſhop, and bi the priuilege of the biſhop of Rome admitted in to the order of biſhops, & cõſecrated bi hys cõmaundement, & ſworen vpõ the Euangeliſtes, to defend the rightes of the church of Rome: al which thinges, he willingly and with al his hart obeied & promiſed to perfourme. Lo (ſai thei) euen the veri ſelf ſame man, to the moſt horrible example of breach of his fidelitie, forgettyng the ſolemne othe he made, or if not through forgetfulnes, yet (which is the worſſe of the two) hauing contemned & defied hys othe and fidelitye, he hath profeſſed him ſelf an open enemie of the church of Rome: & to ſhote his moſt poiſened ſhaftes the more ſureli againſt it, he boroweth a pece of artilari (as it were) of obedience, and thinketh he lyeth cloſelye in couert, as though his ſides were ouer hilled, when for al that, he lieth open & naked to al mennes ſightes, both lyke a foole & a naughti man.

Suche men as wil talke on thys ſort, I am a fraid, and in great dout how

how I ſhall ſatiſfie them: for they wyll alledge perhappes (to amend the matter withall) a certayne preiudice of ſoule, I wotte not what, wherwyth their mynde being blowne full, they wyll ſpue out that, that I ſhall ſpeake, euen as it were a veſſel being top ful of water, that receiueth no more liquour, whan it is powred vpon. But thei that ſhal hear theſe mens talke, and than on the other ſide wil indifferētly read my ſayeng, wyth an empty and fre minde, and not alredy brinke full: I dout not but I ſhal ſhew vnto them and perſwade them ſo, that theyr wordes, as waightie as men thinke them (in dede they accuſe me of periury & ſlaunder) cōdemne them ſelues for falſe reporters, that ſpeke them: & that thei ought no more to moue me. agaynſt whom they be reported, thā the bomblyng ſound of an old batrell, as they ſaye. For in othes or promiſes, the form ought not ſo much to be reſpected as the matter. Bnt let a man ſaye, ſwear, or promiſe as faithfullye as he cā, that thing that he ought not.

Wnlawfull othes not to be kept.

to do not perfourme, the promyſe ſhal not be aboue the nature of the matter it ſelf: nether ſhal the fourme in theſe caſes, chaunge the cõdicion of the matter, but the faithfully made othe, if it be ſtarke naughte, or not good, is better broken, then vnder pretence of the othe, as though it wer the bond of wickednes, it ſhoulde be performed and kept: onles we muſt be perſuaded, that conſtancy is commendable in naughtie and peruerſe maters: and that it is a greater fault to turne againe in the midde waye, than ſtyll to runne alwaies naughtie. And for the more cleare demonſtration of thys matter, I take thys to be the moſt fytte enſample.

how ſhould foliſh or vnlawfull vowes be bond to be kepte, when ſuche otyes ar not

A certaine maried man, when he thought by moſt iuſt lykelyhodes, that his firſt wife had bene vndoutedly dead, as a man that had bene free from Mariage, by the authoritie of the church, toke another woman (which was a faire damoiſell, & thought to be a maide) to wife, bi conſent of her parents: bi whom after thei had dwelt a fewe yeares togethe[r],

marke thys ſimilitude.

together, and he had chyldren by her. Lo, hys former wife vnlooked for, came againe, as it were peping behind the poſt. Wel, ſhe requireth to haue hir huſbande agayne, that had done euil in marieng another woman. Then the man being aſtoneid at that, as a matter almoſt incredible, and driuen at the firſt, to denye her to be his wife: Than to aſke what tokēs ſhe could tel him, and laſt of al, becauſe he was wonderous lothe, to be diuorced from her that he had maried the latter, to make as lōg delaies as he could: and at lengthe to call her vnto the lawe, and ther to make al the ſhift he coulde, to defende hys ſeconde wyues cauſe.

But when he was caſte, he gaue place to the truthe, and taketh hys firſt wife to him again, by the iudgement of the Church. In this caſe now, if the woman that he maried laſt, be iuſtly put from him, or (for ſorow and heauines, ſhe ſpeaking neuer a word) her parentes or frindes would cry out: Out vpon mens maners, out vpon it, what a worlde

is this? And after thys sort, would, make suche a lyke wonderment, as these men seme to vse against me: thou helhound, thou wicked coue-naunt breaker. Doest thou forsake and cast of this woman nowe, vnto whom thou madest once so faith-full a promise, in the open face of the churche, when God him selfe, was a present wytnes? Haste thou forgotten the words, which thou spakest in the temple, the minister of God rehersing them vnto the, in the presence of so many people, this wom̃ that thou hast now sha-mefully cast vp, being present, & ma king couenaũt & promise to the in like sort againe? Diddest not thou once desire vs for her, and madest muche intreatie to haue her to thy wife, and promisedest vs vpon thy oth, that thou wouldest vse her, as the good wife of thy house for e-uer, & neuer to forsake her duryng thy life? Art thou not ashamed, se-ing thou hast such children by her, to cast her of nowe, as though she were an whoore? and nowe whan thou leauest her: to take her parte,

that

that cauſed thee to be deuorced from her? Where is the kepyng of othes become? Where is fidelitie? What maye a man beleue nowe adayes? Whom may a man truſt. The huſband forſaketh the wyfe, whiche maner of communication as it maye be borne wythall in the womans heuines, both for the greate griefe of her preſent calamitie, & becauſe ſhe is the weaker veſſell: Euen ſo, when it is ſpoken of other mens mouthes, whych would haue folkes to thyncke, they ſpeake pithily, it would make men thyncke, they were ſtarke foles: and in open company, euery body wold laugh at them, and in trial of law no man could abyde them. But after a certeine ſpace, if a man would anſwer the woman, and ſaye: woman, you do not wel, to accuſe him, that you want now to be your huſband and defender. For what faulte fynde you now in him? For as long as the farther wife held her away, he loued you, he honoured you, he vſed you as hys wyfe, yea, ſo much, that when the fyrſt wyfe came againe,

whom he thought had bene dead, he was not rashingeuing credence vnto her, nor sodenly assented vnto her. he cold do no more for your sake than he did. If he had fallē to whores, and so forsaken you, your quarel had bene somewhat.

But now, what cast you hym in the teth with faith breaking? whiche to kepe his fayth, departed frō you, & kept him to that other wife that he had laufully maried befor. whi do you complain stil? the woman (I wene) woulde geue ouer. In dede she had no cause to cōplaine, if she had not ben a maiden, as she was taken for, but an euill dysposed woman, and had occasyoned this mans first wife, to be sent into some far Ilandes, to haue this man to her husband in the meane time, and caused the first mariage to be broken: whether shuld be thought to be more in the faulte? thys man that maried (as he thought) rightly, were in no fault: and the subtyll woman were in the greatest fault, as one that delyted to haue another womans husband.

The chyrch of rome sendeth Truth into far Ilandes, and bryngeth wedlocke.

And

And if a man woulde consyder this geare, shal he not se, as it were in a glasse, the verye image of that husband in me? For in dede I, seing I beleued, that no such truth of Obedience had bene, or if it had ben sought for, I woulde neuer haue found it, I coupled my selfe in second couenaunt, and therto plighted my troth, with whō I thought I had laufully dwelt, and kept lauful company withal. But when the truth came, whiche is euery mans first wife, married to him in baptisme, which wil require the first promise, at al mens hands: to her I applyed, to her I cleaued, and from my second knotte, as of none effect by the iudgement of my church, I departed. And shal any man think it indyfferent, that I shal becalled a lyer, because I obey the truth? because I serue God, in obeieng my Prynce, that I shal be reported to be a contemnet of the Sacraments, or an oth breaker? And that, that is fōdly laid to the husbands charge after he is diuorced, because he pfourmed not hys promyse, that he

And so do maryed prestes go from their second knot, and so low the iudgement of gods word, wherby hys church is gouerned why the saith, to auoid forny cation, let euerie manne haue hys wyfe, et cet.

ought not to haue made: ſ hall that in this cauſe be greuouſly and earneſtly trumped in my way, bicauſe I am by mooſt graue iudgement of the truth, diuorſed from the chutch of Rome, which it was not lawfull for me to kepe ſtil, and am compelled to take my wife (Truth) to me, when ſhe commeth again, at lēgth peping behind the ſcrine: & ſo cleaue conſtantly vnto her. If he could teach me, that ſhe is not the truth, whom I haue receiued for my wife claiming againe my firſte promyſe (as he ſhall neuer do it) let him call me by what names he wil. But if he will let that paſſe, and make a doabout the oth, it is to be fered, leſt all men will begin to abhorre the ſubtiltie, which is grounded in making of othes, againſt the truth.

whether he call you or not cal you he maye cal you ſomewhat, yf he cal you papiſt, traitour heretik blud ſucker or tiraunt, he mocketh you not.

Therfor take away the othe from the cauſe, for the oth ought to be a ſeruaunt of truth, and cannot, nor ought to be preiudiciall vnto the truth. He that bi his oth promiſeth vnlawful thinges, doth not righte. But he that maketh an vnlawfull othe, and goeth on ſtill to put it in ex-

Me thynk-eth you ſhould be aſhamed to ſpeake agaynſte preſtes ma-

execution, thrusteth doune himself deper and deper, from whence he can neuer eskape, except he come out erseward.

riage, if this reason be true, as it is in dede that you make here.

VVherfor it were to great an absurditie, that a man shoulde be accompted to do anotorious crime, & to dishonest and shame himself, in that point, wherin he goeth about to do better. And according to this cōsideration, it is decreed, that not so much as by the Ciuil lawes, a mā is bounden to perfourme vnhonest or vnlawful promises, least it might be thought, that those lawes do rather commend perseueraūce in crimes, then repentaunce. And in the Ecclesiasticall Decrees, it is also established, that no man is bounden to perfourm an vnlawful oth, seing an oth cannot bynd a man to wiked nes. This only remaineth, that whē these men, which accuse me of p̄iury, are driuen backe, that thei can lay no more periury to my charge, they wil go aboute, to burthen me with vnaduised temeritie, for promising by mine othe, that was not lawfull for me to perfourme. well,

Then a man maye make an vnaduysed bowe after. xxi. yers

sir,

beyng vnser ned, seynge you a mischeuous wel lerned manne made an vn aduised othe of your age.

sir, but I thought it had bene lawefull, and not I alone, but with the iudgement of many menne, For the worde of truth, liyng than buried a long season, was thought to be no let. But now when she is com home again, and hath confirmed her self vnto me, by so manye proues, that it is euen she, why should I not imbrace myne owne true wife, euen dame Truth her selfe, vnto whom I plighted my troth, and in the accomplishing of the same, ther is no offence, much lesse anye notorious crime. VVell, there is no cause whi I should be a fraied of other folkes euil reportes, as long as I do my dutie to her a lone: & according to her mynde obey my prince, the Supreme head in earth, of the Church of England: and than do my endeuout to accomplish the other partes of true obedience, which belong properly to a christian man: so as whē I haue passed ouer the pilgremage of this life in obedience and truth, I may obtaine eternal lyfe, the authour and geuer whereof, is Iesus Christ, who to draw al vnto the father

Theb. of ro. reignyng the truth lay buryed.

No more nede prestes to be afraide of their mariage, seyng truthe is on their syde thoughe the deuyll and you be agayust it.

ther, obeiyng the father in all thinges, suffered death for our saluation, and both in worde and dede taught obediēce: which forasmuch as it is full of truth, shall at length promote all that faithfully stike vnto it, to the very truth self which is God, blessed for euermore Amen.

eftſones to the Chriſten Reader.

UNderſtande by this proude prelates liuely ſimilitude, good Reader, that in ſome notable pointes, his teeth would not ſuffre his tong to lie, although he would neuer ſo faine, & though he vſeth it neuer ſo much, He ſaith that his firſt wife Truth, whom he maried in Baptiſme, was craftely driuen away into farre Ilãdes, bi the tirannye of the biſhop & Chutch of Rome (that errand pockie proud whore of Babilõ) bicauſe ſhe would marry him to hir ſelf, & make him beleue his firſt wife wer dead, Therby note, that the firſte craftie ſubtile prancke of the whoriſh church of Rome, is to baniſhe Truth (Gods Teſtament) out of the country, or els ſhe might playe the ſingle woman ſtil, for any huſband, ſhe could haue to plight her faith and troth, as the kinges and quenes princes & prelats of the earth haue don, being dronken with the cuppe of her abhomination.

And inlike ſort, the truth of the Goſ-

Gospell (whiche neuertheles is the power of God to saue all that beleue) bicause it is an open enemy of Romish Religion must nedes be banished nowe out of England, or els this mincing madam, the Antichristian Babilonicall whore of Rome, is like to haue but a fewe to daunce at her wedding in England, although to manye, namely of .iii. sortes of people, that is, either of suche as offend of ignoraunce, whose hartes, I beseche God to lighten with the knoledge and companye of the truth: or of those, that geue place & make lowe curtesy to the deuil, for paltring worldly gain, or are vnwillingly present at the pestilent masse and other superstitious popish seruice, for feare of bodely harme, or losse of worldly substaūce, God for geue them, & turne their hartes, or els, of those that are obstinate papistes, the children of perdicion. vnto whom the glorious Gospell of gods kingdome, for their infidelity excessiue pride, filthy careles lyfe, vnsaciable couetousnes, and blasphemy against the holy gost, is hid-

dē

den,& except thei ſpedily repent in time,the deuil ſhal daunce at their Dirige, and thei theim ſelues alſo daunce in the burning fire of hel e-uerlaſtingly for their labour.

Secondly,marke in this ſimilitude that like as men moſt commonli are enamored with the gorgeous gaye ſightes of outwarde galaunt geare, more then with inwarde vertue, ſo this gentleman,ſeing the Babiloni-cal bawdy Romiſh church and reli-gion,painted & trimmed (like a min nion miſtres Clare with her mynce-ing maid Madge Mare) in her coſtli copes,vaine veſtemēts,gold,pearle lordſhips,lands,goodes, and great traines,laughing vpon him ſo nice-ly, and geuing him ſo high honour and dignitie for a token: that was a wife for his owne tooth, her he lo-ued,with her he kept company, by her he had childrē,a houſe euē ful. But when his firſt wife, olde plaine ruſſet cote Ione of the coūtri, good wife truth,commeth creping home to my lords conſcience.offring her ſelf gently vnto him, and requiring his continual cōpany,according to

his

his promiſe in baptiſme, & tellinge him that he did naught in matiyng himſelf to that vile painted lecherous whore, Roſe of Rome: thã my lord ſtartleth, than he maruaileth, than he frouneth, than he ſtampeth & ſtareth, and ſweareth by the ten bones & the element ouer him, that ſhe lieth like a falſe queane, ſhe is none of his, nor he neuer knew her.

Auaũt (ſaith he to truth) thou maplefaced dagtaile drabbe. The babling bethlem beaſt is ſure ſome tũnagate beggerly hãgge. and by like an heritike, ſette on by ſome of my back frinds, to chaſe me, or to get a bribe. I haue an honeſt catholik gẽtle woman, named the Churche of Rome to my wyfe.

By gods paſſiõ if it were not more for fear of the kinge then of God, I would ſet fire on that herityk ſcold truth. wel ſhe beareth hit at his hãds patiently with ſofte ſobre wordes, but no faire ſpeach could ſerue, no tokens of mariage in Baptiſme betwen hir and him, could perſwade this ioly & galũnt felow to take his firſt wife poore homly Ioane Truth

again

againe, vntil ſhe called him before the ordinary, King Henry the. viii. by due order and courſe of Gods law, as he confeſſeth himſelfe, and ther ſhe tryed her ſelfe in the open court of Parliament to be hys futſt wyfe in dede, and his ſecond wyfe mynion myſtres Roſe of Rome, a very ſhameles falſe whore.

VVell, the gentleman being caſt by the lawe, at length yeldeth, and ſwereth he wil neuer meddle with his ſecond wife again, not onli becauſe it is vnlauful for him, but alſo becauſe ſhe is a ſubtill paynted harlot, and of ſo much diſhoneſty: Yea, he is in countenaunce ſo angry with her, that he ſpitteth this Oration in the face of her, to make the ordinary and court beleue, that he were glad of his furſt wife, and how ſore that falſe roſe coloured queane his ſecond wife greued hym.

Notwithſtanding, within a while after, beholdyng the demaner of dame truth, & perceiuing her to be a more mete wife for father Hugh Latimer, or a cobling catter of the countrie, then for ſuch a Galaunt courtier

courtier) a plaine old Ioane, and an homeli gossep, that passed not vpon daintie fare nor costly raiment neither could away wyth Romish frēch hodes (otherwise called myters) nor with foistie farthingales, coarded ouer the alter, but a good huswife, alwaies moiling and scraping to get the peny for the world to come: and (if her husband troad his shoo awrye, as he went seldōe straight) she would now and than fling him out a flake of foul rough wordes for loues sake, whyche he could in no wise abyde.

Than he beginneth to repēt him, and to conceaue a lothsomnes towardes her: and sitting in a dumpe sadli musing, he remembreth with himself, what a fine wench mistres Rose of Rome was, how comelye curtesy she could make him, what trimme geare she gaue hym, howe nicely she coulde smile vpon him, what pretty knackes she deuysed to please him, howe softlye she was wont to chirpe him vnder the chyn & kisse him, how pretely she could talke to him (how doth my swete

heart, what saith now pigges eye? and aduisyng what a courtlye gallaũt wench she was in al properties (snowt fair and horish) and considering that he was diuorsed ftõ her, and forswore her compani, by order of law and not of good wyll: and being loth that his swete sugar loafe mistres Rose should take the losse of so louing a worme, her bed fellow Winchester, ouer greuouslie to hart, or that her frendes should quarel with him for his othe breaking, seyng he had gotten so great a barne teame of shamles swet lipped shauelinges, and other popish belly cheare worldlinges by her, he cõueieth me mistres Rose home to his cõpany againe, his diuorce and othe made to the ordinari notwithstanding, & getteth mo meigny by her stil, his cousin German Gardyner. & a shamefull sort beside, not medlyng wyth poore Ioane Truth that while, but sparing her for holidaies (as yong men vse to do wyth their olde wyues, whan they haue gotten their landes and mouli bagges of old nobles, that they chief-

O tortuose Serpents.

lie ma-

ſie maried them for, into theſr own clouches) and than he ſetteth her vpon a laye land, and byddeth the deuill flitte her. Well poore Ioane Truth, in her bare arye, taketh it in good parte, and getteth her to ſeruice among Mer. haunt men, huſbandmen, craftes men, coblers, tailers, weiuers, and plaine pore men. At laſt when my Lord canne make none ende of playe wyth Myſtres Roſe of Rome, good Wyfe Truth telleth him of his double whoorerynge in plaine Engliſh. Out at the dore (ſaith he) thou vile heretique iade, and ſo getteth him a miſcheuous whip with. vi. bloudy ſtrings, and all to beſwingeth her, and in a fume caſt a ſelie ſorte of her weake poore frendes in the hot fyre.

Thus were Ioane Truth and her frendes rewarded, & Miſtres Roſe cheariſhed and made of, howbeit ſomewhat couertlye, vntill theſe daies. wherein God hath viſited England with theſe preſent calamities, and in hys dyſpleaſure for our ſinnes ſake, hath ſuffered that painted Babilonical beaſt with his

maſkyng minions, and bytcherous birds of antichriſt to be frely prefer red in the Realme again. Bi reaſon wherof, this rodde of gods furye, I mean this Aſſur of wincheſter hath found oportunitie, to build his ſpiritual court of romiſh ſtewes again (and peraduenture his Engliſh ſtewes wil not be longe before thei be reſtored into their old placed ſtate to) ſo that ſely pore truth muſt now kepe ſilence, and her frindes playe mum bouget, or get them ouer the ſea (God knoweth our miſerable ſtate in this exile, and vnto him we commit our cauſe) or elles if thei tary, vp goth their taile.

wel, the beſt is, we ſhall ſuffre no more then Gods hand and decreed counſail hath appointed. And whē we are deliuered from the paines & troubles of this worlde, our ioy and their damnation will preſently bee felt, to our myrth, and their euerlaſting ſhame.

Thirdly note, that like as this ſubtile foxe, doth in this Oration both learnedly, wittely and pitthily diſcharge himſelf by ſcriptures, lawe and

and reason of the vain, vnaduised and vnlauful oth, which he made to the b. of Rome: so the same scripture, lawe and reasons with manye other mo, make much more for the discharge of vnaduised, foliſh, superſticious and vnlaufull vowes of ignoraunt and ambicious popiſhe yotaries and priſtes.

Thus for ſhortnes ſake, leauinge this mans ſimilitude & othet parts of this Oration, to thine owne further deliberate conſideration, moſt Chriſtian Reader, I pray the laugh not, but rather weepe to ſee ſuche goodly learning, wit & other gifts of nature, ſo blaſphemouſlye abuſed by him and ſuche as he is: and pray that almighty God wold geue him grace, once to repent his periury commitred againſt Chriſte, the very Truth in dede, and to forſake that Antichriſte of Rome and hys deteſtable popiſhe enormities: and alſo to conſider, that albeit he liue at his hartes eaſe proſperouſly in this worlde to hys liues end (as he is not like) yet as corporal horedom promoteth many one iuſtlye to the

galowes of Tyburne, euen so he (vnles he repent in time) for his spiritual horedom, and al other impenytent cruell persons, vnbeleuers, cursed folke, men murtherers, hote mongers, baudes, sorceters, idolaters, and liers shalbe hanged on the fyerie galowes of hell, and be boyled euerlastynglye in the lake burnyng with fire & brimstone, which is the seconde deathe: Apocal. xxi.

The spirite of Christ defende the from the participacio of that spirite of blasphemy, & send the hartely well to fare.

¶ God saue the quene.

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